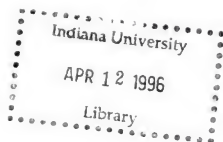


JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW



FKL
GR
98
.J4
v.16



JJ

JEWES AND THE MEDIA
Vol 16, No. 1, 1994

Copyrighted material

Brochure art for "Ethnicity on Prime Time," a screening and discussion series presented in 1991 by the National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting of the Jewish Museum of New York.
Artist: Randy Jones

Introduction, Jeffrey Shandler	1	General Editor Guy H. Haskell
<u>"CONTACTS"</u>		
Jewish Geography Goes On-Line, <i>Jonathan Boyarin</i>	3	Issue Editor Jeffrey Shandler
The Simkha That Speaks Your Language! (But Is It Art?) <i>Shulamis Dion</i>	6	
The Medium and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews, <i>Mark Kligman</i>	9	Managing Editor <i>Annette B. Fromm</i>
Jewish Resources in Computer Networking, <i>Lucia Ruedenberg</i>	12	
Is there a Jewish way to watch television? Notes from a tuned-in ethnographer, <i>Jeffrey Shandler</i>	19	Review Editor <i>Maurie Sacks</i>
From Makó to Margaret Mead: Mediating Memory in an Ethnographic Film, <i>Aviva Weintraub</i>	22	
<u>"ICONS"</u>		
Heritage, Civilization, and the Jews, <i>Ilana Abramovitch</i>	25	Corresponding Editors <i>Haya Bar-Izchak</i> <i>Venetia Newall</i>
Debating the Portrayal of the Other as One of Us: Palestinians in the New Israeli Cinema, <i>Tamar Lieber</i>	30	Associate Editors <i>Annette B. Fromm</i> <i>Steve Siporin</i> <i>Aviva Weintraub</i>
The Hollywood Midrash, <i>Michael Paley</i>	34	
Broadcast Ghetto: The Image of Jews on Mainstream American Radio, <i>Henry Sapoznik</i>	37	
"A yingl mit a yingl hot epes a tam": The Celluloid Closet of Yiddish Film, <i>Eve Siclar</i>	40	Editorial Advisory Committee <i>Shalom Straub</i> <i>Yael Zerubavel</i> <i>Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett</i>
The Music of Jewish Film: A Research Report, <i>Mark Slobin</i>	45	
<u>"ARTIFACTS"</u>		
Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer, <i>Toby Blum-Dobkin</i>	46	Editorial Assistant <i>Jennifer Baron</i>
A Holocaust Mourning Show?: Research Note, <i>Iwona Irwin-Zarecka</i>	51	
DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees, <i>Roberta Newman</i>	52	Correspondence should be addressed to Guy H. Haskell, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322. Subscriptions and business queries should be addressed to Annette Fromm, 3822 South Troost, Tulsa, OK 47104.
Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Jewish Ethnographer, <i>Devorah Sperling and Jeffrey Shandler</i>	57	
Computers and the <i>Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry</i> : The 1960s, <i>Andrew Sunshine</i>	59	
NOTES AND QUERIES		
Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community, <i>Judith S. Neulander</i>	64	
BOOK REVIEWS		
The Blood Libel, A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore (Alan Dundes, Ed.), reviewed by <i>Ruth Eis</i>	68	
NOTES ON THE AUTHORS		

The *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* is issued by the Jewish Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society.

ISSN 0890-9113 © 1994 Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section of the American Folklore Society.



Introduction

The roles that the electronic media play in Jewish life have proliferated as rapidly as the development and use of film, television, radio, sound recordings, video, telecommunications and computers. Jews today are faxing *kvitlekhs* to the Western Wall, using computer software to plan bar mitzvahs, helping Chabad raise money through its annual telethon, attending museum screenings of vintage Yiddish films—the list runs much longer, and it continues to grow. The complex connections between Jews and the media present scholars with a wide range of subjects to explore, and they provoke intriguing theoretical and methodological questions. Yet much of this material remains largely unscrutinized, perhaps because along with the wealth of opportunities that it presents comes a substantial set of challenges. While the subject of Jews and the electronic media would seem to be of potential interest to scholars working in a range of disciplines, it has, until recently, encountered different kinds of resistance at each potential academic home.

The interdisciplinary field of Jewish studies deals primarily in texts—responding to the long-standing focus on the printed word in the secular academy as much as in traditional Jewish devotional scholarship. And, as Jewish studies tends to center on classic, canonical works and on the elite within Jewish social and intellectual life, the field places the electronic media—generally associated with the anti-traditional and the vernacular—at the periphery of its interests. Thus, the occasional calls for the scholarly scrutiny of Jews and these media, or of Jewish popular culture in general, have gone largely unanswered. Folklore, anthropology and ethnology deal more centrally with both the quotidian and the unwritten, yet these disciplines have, until recently, tended to associate the electronic media with cultural turf that lies beyond their purview; the interest of many working in these fields in audio or videorecordings has not gone beyond their role as fieldwork tools. Indeed, the notion that technologically driven, mass-produced works represent the antithesis of folk creativity still lingers in these disciplines.

On the other hand, those who make it their business to study the media—in popular culture studies, cinema or media studies, communications—at first were disinclined to deal with the relations between the media and a particular cultural group; having since taken up this issue, they've rarely dealt with Jews. Perhaps this is because diaspora Jewry is too small or idiosyncratic a group to be of interest to the communications discipline, much of which is still driven by large-scale statistical studies; perhaps this is because their current discussions of the representation of or participation in the media of minorities, ethnic groups and subcultures have been problematized by issues concerning other groups—notably women, African Americans and, more recently, gays and lesbians—whose situations are not always analogous to those of Jews; perhaps it is because the

question of "who is a Jew" is understood as being so complex and particularist in itself that it does not lend itself to inquiries that seek to extrapolate implications for understanding the universal phenomena of these media.

The essays in this volume of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* demonstrate something of the range of possibilities in studying these media and their connections to Jewish creativity and experience. Contributions to the issue consider Jews as media subject, as media artists, and as the media's users or audience. They include the work of both senior and junior scholars based in a range of disciplines, including anthropology, cinema studies, communications, ethnomusicology, folkloristics, linguistics, performance studies, and sociology. The authors consider such issues as the role of media in the dissemination and transformation of traditions; media as venues for both intra- and intercultural contact; media as arenas of modern Jewish cultural creativity, self-exploration and education; Jewish media consumption as a cultural force. In addition to analytic and critical studies, these contributions include overviews of current resources or of historical phenomena, as well as research proposals and speculative essays.

The contents of this issue have been grouped according to larger thematic issues that link them across media genres, disciplinary boundaries, and modes of approach. "Contacts" includes six essays that examine how different electronic media figure in the creation of a sense of community through the transmission and reception of information, art and lore. In his discussion of playing "Jewish geography" on computer bulletin boards and electronic mail, Jonathan Boyarin considers the nature of Jewish communication and sense of place. Shulamis Dion analyzes the symbiotic relationship between WEVD's veteran radio announcer Art Raymond and his diverse listenership in Brooklyn, New York. Mark Kligman examines the role that another medium—the cassette tape—plays in the spiritual culture of members of the same community. Lucia Ruedenberg offers an overview of Jewish computer networking in an article that combines extensive resource listings with analytic insights into this burgeoning phenomenon. My essay considers the role that television watching plays as a cultural "meeting place" for American Jews. And, in her discussion of a recent public screening of a documentary film, Aviva Weintraub examines how making and viewing images links a dispersed Jewish community to a sense of place remembered.

"Icons" offers six contributions that analyze the creation and interpretation of images of Jews—both as individual characters and as a people—in film, television and radio. In her analysis of the much-vaunted documentary series *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*, Ilana Abramovitch examines how the series uses the medium of television to construct images of Jewish "heritage"

and "civilization" for American audiences in the mid-1980s. Tamar Liebes examines the image of the Palestinian as "other" in recent Israeli cinema as refracted through the prism of various film critics' reviews. Michael Paley demonstrates how Hollywood's Biblical epic films of the 1950s and 1960s can be read as cinematic *midrashim* that reflect the American Jewish community's sense of self in the post-World War II era. In a preview of his work-in-progress on American Jewish radio, Henry Sapoznik examines the range of Jewish "types" heard on American airwaves during the heyday of radio drama. Eve Sicular explores how a gay subtext can be read—or overlooked—in classic Yiddish films. And Mark Slobin offers a research report on his study of the roles that music and musicians play in Jewish film, part of a larger project on the "ethnomusicology of film."

"Artifacts" offers five essays examining how various electronic media are used both to document Jewish culture and to create new works of culture. Toby Blum-Dobkin discusses the methodological issues that arise when videotaping Holocaust testimonies. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka considers the questions raised for scholars of Holocaust representation by the recent Polish telecast of the celebrations marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. In her analysis of the 1948 film *Placing the*

Displaced, Roberta Newman examines how HIAS used the docudrama as part of its post-World War II public relations campaign on behalf of Displaced Persons. Devorah Sperling and I consider the ethnographic issues raised by the array of Jewish educational materials now available in the form of computer software. And the history of one of the earliest applications of computer technology to Jewish studies—in the *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*—is documented by Andrew Sunshine.

I hope that these essays will stimulate further discussion of these topics and encourage other similar efforts. Even though JFER isn't "on line" (yet), I hope that this issue will foster a vibrant exchange of ideas and approaches across disciplines, and that it will initiate a more sophisticated and multidisciplinary discussion of an area of Jewish studies—and of ethnographic studies in general—that remains underexplored.

Publication of this expanded issue of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* was made possible thanks to a grant from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation. I would also like to thank Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett for her assistance in planning this special issue, and Jessica Kligman for helping to facilitate its production.

Jeffrey Shandler

Jewish Geography Goes On-Line

Jonathan Boyarin

In this essay, I would like both to document the usage and to consider the implications of the popular meaning of the phrase "Jewish geography." Let me start by contrasting this rubric with those of "Jewish history," "Jewish ethnography" and "Jewish memory." "Jewish history" is generally taken to refer primarily to something existing independently of its study, something that would be there whether or not it was talked about as such; this is what makes possible a book title like *Jewish History and Jewish Historians*. "Jewish ethnography," on the other hand, primarily refers to a scholarly activity, rather than its object; it is not something "out there in the world." "Jewish memory" would seem to refer to something genuinely popular and not to a body of specialized writing at all, but the phrase itself is not commonly used in Jewish community life.

"Jewish geography" (whatever the history of the phrase may be), on the other hand, is a term frequently used by educated, but not necessarily scholarly, Jews. Before I say anything more about it, however, I need to explain where my data on the use of the term come from. I am an occasional participant in a so-called "Jewish conference" run by my friend Ari Davidow on a computer bulletin board called the WELL (for Whole Earth Electronic Link), based in the San Francisco Bay area. Since I had a hunch that among the participants in the Jewish conference there would be a number of people familiar with the phrase "Jewish geography" and adept and eager players of the game, I decided to go on-line. In the process, I think I've stumbled on a potentially significant innovation in anthropological fieldwork practice, which I'm tentatively calling "the new armchair anthropology"—I sat in a chair and elicited data from informants in the postmodern "field" by starting a new topic on the Jewish conference called "Jewish geography: what's it to you?" I explained my research interest and asked people to reply, stating what the term means to them. The roughly forty responses I received will serve as the material for most of this article.

First of all, it can be established from the responses that knowledge of "Jewish geography" is relatively common among well-educated, relatively secular but Jewish-identified American Jews born in the decades after World War II, who are also the constituency for the Jewish conference on the WELL. Only one respondent wasn't aware of the term as I'm about to define it, and he quickly picked up the idea as other responses came in. Based on a small and non-random sampling of older American Jews (my parents, whom I asked in person), the phrase is either less common or completely unknown in that generation.

"Jewish geography," then, when used by North American Jews generally between the ages of 25 and 50, refers to the social activity of establishing links with fellow Jews, usually upon first meeting them, by elaborating with them an informal account of

shared family, friendship or community ties. Three "native definitions" among the responses to my query are generally consistent with this description. Allan Lehmann wrote that "Jewish geography" is the parlor game used by newly acquainted Jews to discover what friends/places/experiences they have in common." Note that this definition places less exclusive stress on finding common acquaintances than on an overall commonality of background. David Cooper later wrote that "Jewish Geography where I grew up was to find out who you knew in common and from where." Significantly, Cooper here was including in his response ethnographic data that localized his definition: "where I grew up."¹ Ari Davidow mused, "It's hard to do a take on Jewish Geography. On the one hand, I've always seen it as an attempt to affirm our commonality by proving that we have relatives or acquaintances in common—see, we *are* a close tribe after all. On the other hand, it works!"

Tamar Kaufman, a journalist with the Northern California Jewish Bulletin, agreed with Allan Lehman's definition and provided several fictional examples: "You're from New York? Maybe you know Selma Schwartz? Very active at Temple Emanuel sisterhood, Hadassah, B'nai B'rith." Alternatively, "You went to Camp Ramah in '65? I was there in '68. Did you know Jeffrey Cohen from Los Angeles?" And then there's, "Your last name's Kaufman and you've just arrived from Leningrad? My grandparents were Kaufman from Bessarabia—Moldavia since Stalin renamed it. Maybe we're related?"

These responses already show one of the most important points I want to make about "Jewish geography" in contrast to our usual notions of geography as an objective study. Whereas classical cartographic geography is presented either from an objective non-place or perhaps from a bird's-eye view, Jewish geography is person-centered, concerned with establishing networks outward and back to the person. Jewish geography in this usage is hardly a neutral or objective fact, but shaped by social and cultural interests. The phrase seems even to contain an implicit critique of geographic objectivism within itself, similar to the way the terms "colored people's time" or "Jewish people's time" both tease the in-group and subvert the tyranny of the clock.

"Jewish geography" is chronotopic (see Bakhtin 1981). It rests on time—memory, history, genealogy—as much as on place markers. In "Jewish geography" people locate each other (and thus perpetually reinvent the Jewish people) along an imaginary grid beyond the rigid Cartesian coordinate dimensions of space and time. Jews, of course, aren't the only ones who play this game; it is probably common among all people who are highly mobile, yet need to construct a sense of rooted identity. It may well work to exclude those, such as working-class Jews,

who do not have the privileges of mobility and broad social networks. Yet I am skeptical of the notion that *everyone* of a certain class—not just Jews—does this in the same way and to the same extent. I have not heard of analogous terms to “Jewish geography” among other ethnic groups, although I am told that French and Italian Jews use cognates of “Jewish geography.” Finally, “Jewish geography” is necessarily dialogic rather than didactic. We make it up as we go along.

The connections established are intersubjectively real. But the functions they serve are similar to those of a game called “messages,” which the writer Jane Jacobs has described playing with her sister when they both came to New York from a small city as girls. The game involved picking “two wildly dissimilar individuals” and inventing a chain of connections between them. Jacobs writes that “I suppose we were trying, in a dim way, to get a grip on the great, bewildering world into which we had come from our cocoon.” (quoted in Milgram 1967)

Larry Moss, a mathematician at Indiana University, commented on-line that “the coincidences involved in finding common friends or acquaintances are not mathematically unexpected.” In the mid-1960s the psychologist Stanley Milgram did experiments analogous to Jane Jacobs’ game of messages, testing how many individuals a letter would have to pass through between a randomly-chosen source in the Midwest and a target in Cambridge, Massachusetts. With “Americans” in general, the median number of necessary intermediaries was five. Although this doesn’t sound like a large number, Milgram stresses that “We should think of the two points as being not five persons apart, but ‘five circles of acquaintances’ apart—five ‘structures’ apart. This helps to set it in its proper perspective.” (1967:67) It would be interesting to replicate Milgram’s experiment using only Jews as starting and ending points—obviously a much more formal methodology than the computer mail network I’m relying on here.

However, more can be said about “Jewish geography” on the basis of the information I already have. Several of the responses have to do with the discovery of long-lost relatives. Ellen Forman Muraskin describes being in Tel Aviv in 1970, aged 16, and striking up a conversation with a “nice middle-aged couple” from Tel Aviv who turned out to be related to her neighbors from Queens. She provides a happy ending: her neighbor’s son “Gary, who lives in Teaneck, New Jersey, now heads up a Jewish Genealogy club [written up in *Hadassah* magazine over a year ago], and published a related newsletter.” This testimony comes from someone roughly my age, but several anecdotes about rediscovering lost relatives relate to people who are much older. Of course, while they may not call it “Jewish geography,” Jews have been rediscovering relatives, and others from the same home regions, at least since ancient Israelites began making pilgrimages to Jerusalem three times a year.

Much more distinctively characteristic of the postwar generation are “Jewish geography” connections relying on summer camp, college, tours in Israel and other aspects of the culture of middle-class American Jewish adolescence. Abbe Don, an ethno-

graphic filmmaker, offered the following testimony:

I grew up in an affluent Jewish suburb of Chicago [Highland Park] and most of the kids from the Jewish midwest suburbs went to a set of camps in ‘the North Woods’ of northern Wisconsin and Upper Peninsula Michigan. Most of these, it turns out, appealed to Reform Jews. My Conservative friends from Highland Park tended to go to more ‘overtly’ Jewish camps like Habonim and Camp Ramah. In any case, it seems to me that a lot of Jewish Geography, at least in my experience, has been about nouveau-riche Jewish kids trying to find connections: so I know a lot of kids in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan and Shaker Heights, Ohio. Then I was a camp counselor years later at a camp in Maine and discovered the Jewish geography of the East Coast, mostly of Long Island.... I knew a lot of my campers’ cousins or older siblings from several ‘teen trips’ I had been on between being a camper and a counselor.... These trips appealed to kids from the usual suspects in the midwest, along with the kids from Scarsdale, Great Neck, Rye, etc. And if I’m not mistaken, I learned a lot about class attitudes and snobbery, such that Skokie is to Highland Park as Rye is to Great Neck!

I might emphasize the inseparability of space and time in the social geography of the very phrase “summer camp”: a *place* where people converged at a certain time of each year—a sort of *mikra kodesh*, perhaps, like the above-mentioned pilgrimages to ancient Jerusalem.

Inevitably, people moved beyond simply responding to my query and began actually playing Jewish geography on-line. Immediately after Abbe Don wrote about summer camps, Howard Rheingold asked, “Did anybody go to Camp Edalia on Lake Tiorati, not far from Bear Mountain, New York?” Two days later, he received a positive answer from Bennett, Ellen Forman Muraskin’s husband. Similarly, Larry Moss remarks that he knows all the people Abbe Don had mentioned in a different example of Jewish geography, and asked Abbe to pass on his regards. The medium of information-gathering—the topic I started in the Jewish conference—has become a medium of cultural enactment.

Turning from the anecdotal, I wonder at the larger significance of Jewish geography. How much can it contribute to a resilient Jewish collective identity in our decades? How resonant, really, are the common experiences forged at summer camps and the like, beyond their service as a comfortable vehicle for establishing initial contacts? Under the assault of the Enlightenment, of the modernist passion for the integrated, universalist nation-state, of general territorial displacement, and of genocide, many of the markers making up “Jewish geography” have been

lost, and with them, much of the astonishing capacity of Jewish culture to afford very different people a sense of shared belonging. In the process, a kind of centrifugal effect has often resulted in the fragmentation of Jewish identity along discrete poles of time and space (or memory and territory). Or, alternatively, it has resulted in attempts to reimpose in vastly different circumstances an idealized Jewish geography imagined to have existed before the flood. An example of the extreme valorization of time and memory as grounds of Jewish "identity" would comprise most French Jewish intellectuals; an extreme emphasis on territory would apply to ideological Zionists; and a reification of the past would apply to various Hasidic communities.

The game of Jewish geography itself as played over a computer network affords an instructive paradox. The game depends on finding people who were in the same place at the same time. But playing it via computer requires neither that the players be in the same place (they can be anywhere in North America, and now, with new linkages, in Eastern Europe or Israel), and, since messages are posted and can be retrieved at any time, the game does not even require simultaneous conversation. As I've suggested above, only a few American Jews currently use electronic mail as a means of communication, and they can be fairly well specified according to criteria of age, education, class mobility and, most important here, physical mobility. Immigrants and their children might have played "Jewish geography" (without calling it by that name) in order to reestablish links in a new place—the immigrant synagogue named after a home town in Eastern Europe is a good example. Now the game begins to show a somewhat different character. Since one can communicate via electronic mail with anyone from anywhere, the point is less establishing new and lasting links than renewing one's sense of being part of a network that will follow you wherever you go, if you continue to help maintain it.

The postmodern practice of Jewish geography, if I may call it that, bears affinities with certain destabilizing trends in critical academic geography and theories of identity. It might seem, in fact, that I'm granting too much to the imagination and not enough to the brute facts of population shifts. How "voluntary," how "subjective" is Jewish geography after all? The geographer Allan Pred is right to emphasize, in the conclusion to his book on *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*, the "unchosen circumstances under which historical geographies are constructed." (1990:229) Yet he is referring there to people in the same place at the same time, not to people voluntarily recalling such connections. But the phenomenon I'm looking at here does reinforce Pred's insistence that "it is no longer possible to defend either a space- and time-free social theory or an ontological prioritizing of the making of histories over the construction of human geographies, the production of space and place." As Corey Fischer—significantly, perhaps, a member of a troupe called A Travelling Jewish Theater—defined Jewish geography, it is "a four-dimensional geography that includes time."

The material from the electronic mail network testifies to the potential of "Jewish geography" as a model for Jewish

identity which is informed, personal, contingent and humorous, and which recognizes the constructed nature of national boundaries and calendrical chronologies. "Jewish geography" elaborated in this fashion could give a critical twist to the study of Jews within the discipline of geography. It could also enrich the search for a postmodern politics of identity that neither denies the importance and vitality of particular human groups, nor shrinks from their constructed nature and the shared human concerns of memory and relation which underlie all of them.

Notes

This paper was originally read at a conference on The Role of Geography in Jewish Civilization, Ohio State University, 21 October 1990.

- 1 In response to a draft of this paper which I posted in the WELL, Cooper notes: "I must say that Jonathan may have missed one nuance of my definition. When I said 'where I grew up' I was not so much limiting my definition to my locality as much as asserting—with unabashedchutzpah—that the only correct definition was that of my locality, of course." Regarding my ethnographic practice, Cooper observes that "your study violated the Star Trekian 'Primary [sic] Directive', wherein the Federation life-form seekers are allowed to observe but not to interfere in the lives of the natives.... But of course, the Primary Directive itself violates Heisenberg's [sic] law that it is impossible to observe a phenomenon without affecting it."

References

- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel. In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* by M.M. Bakhtin, ed. Michael Holquist, pp. 84-259. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Milgram, Stanley. 1967. The Small-World Problem. *Psychology Today* (May):61-67.
- Pred, Allan. 1990. *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

The *Simkha* That Speaks Your Language! (But Is It Art?)

Shulamis Dion

Since October 1928, WEVD-New York has been "the station that speaks your language." The station—whose call letters are the initials of Eugene Victor Debs, twice non-victorious presidential candidate of the Socialist Party—was committed from its inception to the interests of immigrants, especially immigrant workers. Early programming was largely split between Italian- and Yiddish-language air time, with news, live talk shows, live soap operas, and live music provided by the lively house orchestra. The 1920s was, of course, a pre-tape era; programs could not be prerecorded. Hence, on-air "bloopers" and half-baked recoveries went unedited, an inevitable part of a performance where everything is fresh-picked and nothing is canned.

A vital service that WEVD offered its listeners was the advertising of products and public events of special interest to these various ethnic sectors. The station's Yiddish programming worked in tandem with its sister medium, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, or in Yiddish, simply the *Forverts*, to soften the rough landing that most East European Jewish immigrants endured, and to keep them apprised of the most current developments in their new home in cultural terms that were familiar and comprehensible.

Henry Sapoznik, the foremost researcher of Jewish radio programming in its historical development, has observed that WEVD stopped calling itself "the station that speaks your language" in the mid-1980s.¹ According to Sapoznik, ethnic special-interest programming has given way to broad-based, mainstream American fare for the bulk of the station's daily air time. We can speculate that WEVD's original service to the large masses of immigrant workers and later to the postwar refugees has seen its day, and the station has simply retrenched and attempted to follow the times.

But there is one extremely lively, not to say slightly hysterical, segment of prime daytime programming in WEVD's schedule, pitched to a particular community that has undergone a decidedly American transformation and whose American identity is in little question, but which also has held stubbornly to its ethnic particularity. The music, social events, special interests and product needs of these listeners are firmly enough entrenched to occupy and support a daily program of four hours bridging the very middle of the day. This is WEVD's Morning *Simkha*, aired from 10:00 AM to 2:00 PM Monday through Friday, together with the Sunday *Simkha Deluxe* from 8:00 AM to 1:00 PM, all hosted by Art Raymond, the *Simkha Man*.

As the following description of the program's content of music, advertising, and moderator's patter demonstrates, the majority of the projected audience consists of young, orthodox, English- and Hebrew-speaking families. However, the program content also reflects a Yiddish-speaking immigrant and second-

generation constituency that is very reluctant to quit and has never been particularly *frum* in the main; moreover, for many years these listeners constituted the primary audience for WEVD's Jewish programming. Art Raymond performs a skillful balancing act in holding the attention of this disparate listenership. We'll look at Raymond's highly idiosyncratic patter style in more detail later—but first, a word from our sponsors...

Who's paying for this program, and thereby also playing a decisive role in the content that ultimately shapes and holds this audience? Food, first of all—food, moreover, provided and prepared according to relatively strict laws of *kashrus*—takes up a great deal of the air time devoted to ads on this program. Here we also see evidence of the peculiar split in the listenership: for every four or five ads proclaiming that Glatt Mart of Avenue M in the heart of *misnagdish* Midwood delivers all over Flatbush and is under the *hashgakeh* of the Va'ad ha-Rabonim, or that the Shang Chai Glatt Kosher Chinese Restaurant is not only under similar strict supervision but also has live music and is already taking reservations for New Year's Eve (the American and not the Chinese or Jewish New Year), we also hear a plug for the Second Avenue Deli, under no particular supervision that Art Raymond cares to mention, but which has the chicken soup, *kneidelkh* and chopped liver that "warms up your *yidish nehome* and *makht di gantse velt so, so sheyn!*"

Other products tend to be pitched more specifically to that younger set of orthodox *balebatim*. Let's take a moment to outfit the whole *miishpoke*: First, we'll take Mama to Underworld Plaza at 62nd Street and New Utrecht Avenue—a *shomer shabes* establishment, as the *Simkha Man* is careful to point out—the foundation garment outlet with whose huge selections and regular 75% discounts brides can save hundreds on complete trousseaus. This is a particularly frequent ad, and its persistence may well point to the large number of young brides in the target community, prompting the sponsor to invest in such a generous portion of air time. Tiny-Town, also in Boro Park, offers a complete selection for boys and girls of all ages. In particular, the girls' clothing features a distinctly antiquated, long, boxy look with lines standing clearly away from the body, sized well into the early teen range. For his part, *Tate* can get a complete line of handsome and reasonably priced wool suits, sweaters and top-coats at Jack's, where there is ample free parking and free *shatnes* testing for all customers. *Tate* can also buy the high-tech Remington microshaver with double microscreens, for those who eschew shaving with a blade. (The halakhhic proscription against touching the face with a blade is not mentioned directly, but is nevertheless implicit in Raymond's descriptive assurances about the microscreen action lifting the hair completely away from the skin for the double shearing effect.)

Of course, the central feature of the programming is the music, cut with Raymond's incessant, manic Yinglish patter. Here we'll look at the opening of one particular *erev shabes*, the 23rd of December, 1988. The programming is concentrated, even hectic, on any given day, but it reaches heights of freneticism on Friday mornings unequalled at any other time during the week. As Raymond's patter demonstrates, the pitch of musical activity is specifically intended to rev up the *balebustibkeyt* of the *shabes*-maker in her home, and give her the energy to complete all her preparations before candle lighting time on this shortest Friday of the year:

Hello hello hello this is Art Raymond, your Simkha Man, *nor af simkhes*, only *simkhes*, six times a week, my *bobe* used to say that when I was a little kid, *nor af simkhes*, so I guess that's why I got into the *simkhe* business. Here comes Tsvikah Pik from his newest hit album, "Tsvikah Pik sings Julio Iglesias."

Cut to music, a big, noisy Hebrew-language arrangement with a heavy backbeat and a wailing male soloist.

It's a hit, it's a big hit! You can get it at Nefesh Ami in Hicksville, *if* you can get it! It's a big hit and they can't keep it in stock! But you don't need a tape, you don't need a ticket to ride, just tune in to your radio to the great 98, WEVD, and Art Raymond, that's me, your Simkha Man of the hour! *Me furt, me furt!* Short day, *mamale*, lotta stuff to get done and you gotta do it all, so do it! Do it! Take it away, Neginah Orchestra! Wotta *khasene!*

Cut to the Neginah Orchestra—a large, well-known ensemble much favored for weddings by Brooklyn hasidim of means—in an instrumental bulgar just as big and boisterous as the previous number, and larded with musical quotations from American rock standards "Inna Gadda Da Vida" and "Light My Fire."

Ladies, please! If you have to go shopping today for *shabes*, why not treat yourself to a limo from Puncual? *Se kost gelt*, but whadda *you* care? Your comfort and your pleasure are more important, so spoil yourself a little today!

This pace continues for a good half-hour before the ladies get a breather: a slow, romantic number by the popular Yemenite singer Ofra Haza, a love song in her distinctive, guttural Hebrew accompanied by the swelling strings of a large studio orchestra. But the *balebuste* is now well launched, and the Simkha Man is not going to let her down until 2:00 in the afternoon, as he will promise repeatedly throughout the program.

The Morning Simkha airs a considerable amount of *shabes nigunim* on Fridays too, in keeping with this spirit of prepara-

tion, or preparation of spirit. These are usually performed by male choruses with orchestra, very often boys' choirs.² The Morning Simkha is very much the hitmaker for these popular ensembles of young people. At the time of this December 1988 program, for example, Yerakhmiel Bigun's Miami Boys' Choir had been enjoying a successful Old World tour, including concerts in London, Antwerp, and Jerusalem, preparatory to a triumphant finale in Flatbush. A stroll down Avenue J between Coney Island Avenue and 16th Street also confirms that this no-nonsense *minagdish* neighborhood sports numerous fliers and placards announcing this and many other live performances, many scheduled to receive advance promotional airing on WEVD's Morning Simkha.

The Morning Simkha also airs selections from the prolific output of music for children by such local artists as Uncle Moishe and his Mitsve Men, ostensibly for the youngest children at home with their mothers. This sample, an amusing contrafact of what was itself the baby-boomer generation's parody of an old American folk song, speaks for the genre:

On top of spaghetti
all covered with cheese,
don't ever eat meatballs,
it's not kosher, you see.

What about the older, Yiddish-speaking listeners? The Simkha Man is taking care of them too, but in significantly smaller proportions of air time. On this particular Friday, the offerings for them include a couple of torchy swing-era Yiddish numbers by the Barry Sisters, including one that claims:

"Tsi shpeyt hob ikh oysgefinen,
Tsi shpeyt iz dayn libe gekimen—
Zay azoy git, zug az s'iz nit tsi shpeyt."
[I found out too late/ your love came too late/
Please tell me it's not too late.]

Other Yiddish and nostalgia numbers include *khasones* by Moishe Oyssher, the legendary star of Yiddish screen and 78 rpm recordings; a lullaby by contemporary Israeli folksinger Chava Alberstein; and an original number by Sol Zim, the prolific cantor and composer, eulogizing life in Bialystok before the war.

The *balebuste* in her home on that December day also heard at least one song of a very different genre and not such light-hearted nature. These songs—which may, in fact, have more general appeal to the entire audience, but which are clearly produced by the younger set—can be described as politicized *frumkeys*. Typical of this trend are the popular lyrics of Mordechai Ben-David, known locally by his fans as "MBD." The recordings of this singer and songwriter are featured regularly on WEVD, and he also appears live in sold-out concerts in Brooklyn Orthodox centers and in Israel. At the time of this radio show, a few years before the 1993 peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, MBD had just released the inflammatory "Yerushalayim Is Not For Sale":

Yerushalayim, her holiness crying, they're defiling her dearest location;
 Politics defining our sense of pride—are we not the chosen nation?
 "Yerushalayim is not for sale!" voices cry,
 thundering through all our cities.
 Her assailants have perished, their names are history!
 You'd better run for your lives before our mountaintops open to swallow you.

The song is performed in a darkly-colored, compelling rock style, heavy and menacing with percussive impetus. And the Simkha Man's introduction? "This one's for you, Mr. Arafat. Do it to him, Mordkhe!"

Are these Art Raymond's own political leanings, or is it all part of the elaborate, half-*heykish* and half-*neo-frum* balancing act he pulls off six days a week on WEVD? Raymond himself is a hidden quantity to the listenership of the program. In recent years he has moved to Florida, where he pretapes the Morning Simkha and ships it to New York, with little or no change—so well does he know his constituency—in the overall effect on the *balebaste* making her preparations for *shabes*, or the golden-ager listening for the occasional theater hit by Molly Picon. The electronically mediated voice is the same immediate presence in their homes and lives that it has been for 30 years, and would be were it coming from another planet altogether.

If there seems an inherent cynicism in the arrangement, still the value of these listeners for Raymond is not to be underestimated. He knows very well what a vital role they play in the scenario. In a recent taped interview with Henry Sapoznik,³ Raymond revealed the bottom-line concerns of the man behind the Simkha Man:

I started out with very little. But over the years I built it up to a very—I make more money than the mayor of New York City, and that's quite an accomplishment for a guy who's been playing Jewish music, OK? Jewish music, where the audience to begin with is very small. But I built that smallness into a bigness, big enough so that it's commercially valuable.... I do 5 hours, 6 hours every day, and I have dozens and dozens of sponsors. And in order for me to get results for them I have to pitch my *kishkes* out.... That's what kept the program on the air—never mind anything else here! My programming and the music and my personality... all that's baloney. Because if you don't have sponsors you're dead, OK?... I'm a salesman, selling to an unseen audience, and sugarcating my pitch with music.

But irrespective of the commercial realities, the persona of the Simkha Man is also responding to real programming

demands of local Jewish listenership. In this evolving dialectic, the community's desires are indeed reflected, but at the same time the community is being defined to itself—and therefore constituted fresh daily—and then prescribed to and led by music, advertisement and cultural demagoguery. Raymond is exhorting them, with his peculiar, ebullient bilingual patter, to continue being who they are, to hold to the *yidishkeit* that makes the Morning Simkha a relevant necessity—cultural as well as commercial—in New York in the first place. At the same time, he has been continually reshaping his broadcast persona over the 30-year span of his WEVD career in order to accommodate the distinct, disparate components of his constituency, and not only to accommodate them, but also to calibrate with remarkable finesse the timing and percentage of exposure in which each will recognize himself and find his worldview reinforced by the *simkhe* that speaks *his* language.

Notes

- 1 New York, Summer 1993, personal communication.
- 2 While the Simkha's roster of recorded vocalists on any given day is more male than female, the female voice is not avoided outright as might be expected when the projected listenership is largely observant, and the *kol isha* proscription is taken quite seriously in the growing body of popular music produced by and for modern observant Jews. Indeed, the above-mentioned Ofra Haza, as well as female singers associated with the modern *klezmer* and Yiddish folk song revivals, such as Eleanor Reissa and Adrienne Cooper, are featured fairly regularly. This reinforces the surmise that the principal audience targeted is the female homemaker, who, since she is a woman herself, is exempt from the proscription.
- 3 Henry Sapoznik, interview with Art Raymond, 9 August 1993, via telephone.

The Media and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews

Mark Kligman

Over the past ten to fifteen years the Orthodox Jewish community of Brooklyn, New York, has produced a plethora of recorded music; this music has become synonymous with the community, and the "message" often contained therein provides a fascinating example of how Orthodox Jews interact with the surrounding cultures. In this article, I examine the ways in which cassette recordings have helped to promulgate the music's "message" of religious fervor among Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews.

In 1989 Sheya Mendlowitz, a foremost producer of music in the Orthodox community, estimated that the community has produced over 2,000 recordings since the 1960s; at the rate at which the community makes new recordings—over 100 per year—this number is now close to 2,500. The Orthodox community began recording music in the 1950s; at that time their main motivation was to preserve Hasidic music for future generations. From the 1960s and into the 1970s, various groups and individuals within the community began to compose and record original songs in a popular idiom. Beginning in the late 1970s, this music was distributed on cassette; this medium has since proved a key ingredient in the promotion and proliferation of recorded music in the Orthodox community.

Members of the Orthodox community have different relationships with the non-Jewish world. Orthodox Jews use the term "Yeshiva community" to refer to that segment of the population that aspires to live almost exclusively within its Jewish world and seeks to limit contact with the non-Jewish world. It is the Yeshiva community that produces and consumes the music under discussion in this essay. While members of the Yeshiva community exhibit varying traits of religious behavior within acceptable "religious" guidelines, ultimately their behavior is individually defined.¹

Similarly, members of the Orthodox community differ in their descriptions of the music produced within the community. Some refer to it as "Jewish" music, while others call it "Hasidic" music. No single definition of Jewish music exists, since Jews in various parts of the world have been influenced by their surroundings. Therefore, I refer to this music as "Orthodox Popular music," so as not to confuse the reader with other types of Jewish music. Incorporating popular and rock idioms, Orthodox Popular music varies in musical style as it adapts to and is influenced by American top-forty, rock and soft-rock music. The recordings are promoted according to the musical tastes of the Yeshiva community. Thus, the texts, which typically center on a passionate religious experience, are an important spiritual component of Orthodox Popular music. Familiar Hebrew texts of the *humash* or *siddur*—such as passages associated with the

Sabbath or weddings—are commonly set to new melodies, or new English lyrics, which relate Jewish experiences that speak to members of the community, are written. Newly composed texts may express an understanding of a Biblical concept or some aspect of religious life such as texts that focus on the proper spiritual intention one should have during prayer. The more prominent solo artists and groups—Mordechai Ben-David, Avraham Fried, and Regesh—integrate a variety of current popular styles, use Hebrew, English or Yiddish texts, and employ an emotionally intoned male voice, mostly associated with cantorial singing, and the vocabularies of the Hasidic *nigun* (tune) to create their own styles of Orthodox Popular music. The more recent recordings are produced with a greater variety of background instruments, such as brass, strings and winds.

Prominent among the issues raised by ethnomusicological studies of the popular music of ethnic groups is that of the identity of the specific ethnic group vis-à-vis the larger culture, as reflected in the degree to which the music of this ethnic group incorporates the musical style of that culture (Slobin 1992; Reyes-Schram 1975, 1979). Such studies concentrate on musical and non-musical factors that are changed or adapted, and they consider the reasons these changes take place. Each culture raises specific concerns. Mark Slobin offers suggestions for dealing with the complexities that are inherent in such studies. Rather than looking at the apparent results of the struggle between a super-culture and subculture, Slobin suggests that studies should look at the intersections and connections of cultures (1992:85).

For example, studies of ethnic groups in Western cultures must deal with their urban locale and the diversity that these ethnic groups face in this setting. An issue common to both Western and Non-Western cultures is the recognition of changes in technology for the recording and dissemination of music. As Peter Manuel states in his *Popular Musics of the non-Western World*,

the last fifteen years have seen the flourishing of innumerable backyard cassette industries, duplicating cassettes, printing labels, and marketing "product" through local outlets with very low initial investment and operating costs. The backyard cassette industries are able to respond to diverse regional, ethnic, and class tastes in a manner which is not characteristic of record or film industries. (1988:6)

Although made in reference to the music of the Third World, this comment can be applied to ethnic groups in

Western cultures. Manuel stresses that there is something unique about the cassette format. Its ease of production keeps costs low, thereby allowing groups to create and distribute music on small budgets—something not characteristic of long-playing records (LPs) or films. Manuel's statement that the backyard cassette industry can cater to diverse ethnic tastes can be extended to include Orthodox Popular music, which has flourished during the last fifteen years in large part due to the advent of this technology. The first recordings were produced on LPs, but the cassette format, with its low cost of production, dramatically increased the number of recordings, their sales, and the proliferation of the music. Several Yeshiva community members told me that they do not feel the purchase of a stereo system to be a good use of their money, since they do not need such a luxury item. Instead, they prefer to purchase an inexpensive cassette player or a portable cassette player. Although the more popular recordings by the established artists and groups are now produced on compact disc, the majority of recordings still come out on cassette.

Indeed, recordings, rather than live performances, are the mainstay of Orthodox Popular music. An artist or group typically produces one or more recordings a year in order to remain current. Cassettes have transformed the music; rather than producing functional music for religious occasions, a new form of music emerged—music created in the studio with the intent of listening to it on a recording. Overall, few performing venues exist within the community. The top artists perform in live concerts only a few times each year at occasions associated with holidays, such as *hol-hamoed* Pesakh and Sukkot, or pre-Purim concerts; artists will also perform at fundraising events for synagogues and other organizations. Some groups do not perform live; their music is only heard on cassette.²

The cassettes vary in their level of quality with regard to both the music on the cassette and the physical packaging. Some recordings showcase solo singers or groups of singers with an electronic keyboard accompaniment, whose sound quality in no way can be considered "high-fidelity." But the prominent Orthodox Popular artists produce polished, high-quality recordings with professional orchestral accompaniment. Efforts are made to employ professional—often non-Jewish—arrangers, background musicians, and recording technicians. The physical packaging of these recordings makes use of the latest in graphic design, and provides an attractive layout of the recording's contents.

A distinctive feature of recordings produced in the Orthodox community is the following, which appears on the cassette's back cover or in the liner notes: "All Rights Reserved—Unauthorized Duplication or Broadcast is a Violation of Copyright Law and Halachah [Jewish law]—Do Not Play on Shabbos or Yom Tov." This notice ostensibly serves to remind the listener of what the Orthodox performer/producer believes to be proper behavior for distributing and listening to the music. But Velvel Pasternak of Tara Publications—who sells a variety of cassettes by Orthodox and non-Orthodox artists at various Jewish festivals and activities—has told me that when non-Orthodox Jews see the above

legal reminder they immediately say, "This is Orthodox music.... It's for the Orthodox Community.... It's not for me." Thus the legal reminder serves as a marker of the Orthodox community to outsiders.

The reminder also raises an interesting question: if the music is produced for the Orthodox community, its members should already know about the restrictions of playing this music on *shabbat* and *yom tov*—why would they need this? The consistent use of this reminder on the packing of Orthodox Popular music serves as a marker to differentiate Orthodox Popular music from other types of Jewish music, such as *klezmer* or Israeli; a form of certification analogous to a *heksker* ("authorization") of *kashrut*. But the reminder also serves as a reiteration of the care one must take in observing the Sabbath—a basic element of observance for members of the Orthodox community. Such restatement of the basics is a common trope in many parts of the Orthodox community; it is echoed in books and other literature and is often the subject of rabbis' sermons.

Orthodox Popular music has become almost synonymous with the Brooklyn neighborhoods in which the community lives. While shopping in these sections of Brooklyn one can hear Orthodox Popular music playing in bakeries, restaurants, butcher shops and gift stores. Thus, Orthodox Popular music creates a "soundspace" for the Orthodox community within their physical space or neighborhood. Moreover, the transportability of the cassette allows Orthodox community members to listen to their music in a variety of places: at home, in the car, or on a portable cassette player. In Orthodox communities it is a commonplace to hear Orthodox Popular music from passing cars. One man who is a member of the community commented to me that in "the country"—i.e., the bungalow colonies of upstate New York, where many Orthodox Jews go for the summer—as soon as *shabbat* is over, this music can be heard blaring from people's cars and residences. Paralleling the way that the stylistic elements of this music keep pace with top-forty popular music, adapting to the current trends and styles, members of the Orthodox community assert their identity and claim their space in the multi-ethnic arena of Brooklyn by "broadcasting" their music as other ethnicities do.

Just as popular music styles are transformed by Orthodox Popular music, the physical space is also transformed. As a single, religious woman in her late thirties states:

I only listen to Jewish music.... You know why? Because, in a certain way, I live a very lonely life. I spend a lot of time in the city and a lot of time running to places. You see, it's like I'm tied to the Jewish world, but I can't quite find my place in it. Jewish music gives me a Jewish world that I carry with me, but has no association of sociology.... It creates my own inner Jewish world. If I'm at a pastry shop on the Upper West Side [of Manhattan] near Columbia [University], and I sit there for five hours, sitting and writing... as I'm listen-

ing to this Jewish music it's kind of comforting. I find it very comforting.

Many Orthodox Jews share this idea of referring to Orthodox Popular music as a "Jewish world that I carry with me." One woman offered the following story about a trip to Russia prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which illustrates the special power of portable music on cassette:

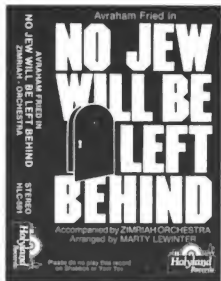
I'm on the plane flying... to Moscow, all alone. I was plenty frightened... [but] I'm listening to this Jewish music. First of all, I'm thinking, "Ha, ha, ha" to the Russians, "you think you're taking away my Jewishness," [but] here I am sitting on the plane listening to this [Orthodox Popular music], and I just felt very comforted. I felt connected.

The comfort that Orthodox Popular music provides this woman is testimony to the importance of this music in people's lives. One of the most prevalent attitudes regarding this music is its association with the feeling of prayer. Another woman told me that she associates this music with "davening": "I feel like [Orthodox Popular music] is my connection to God." An Orthodox therapist in her forties, she said that she listened to a cassette of Orthodox Popular music while in her car and at home after her daughter was married. She told me that she wanted to carry the joy of the *simkhe* with her. The association of intense prayer and joy with Orthodox Popular music is very often contained within the songs. Because of these strong feelings, the non-Jewish origins of the music are not at issue—the deep emotions of the music transcend any such concerns.

Manuel suggests that scholars should "stress the importance of analyzing popular culture neither as pure resistance nor as superimposition, but as the arena of negotiation, and 'the ground on which the transformations are worked.'" (Manuel 1988:14) Orthodox Jews respond to their multi-ethnic environment by strengthening their identity through the transformation and adaptation of elements of the non-Jewish world, similar to the way immigrant groups of other ethnicities adapt to new environments. The recorded music of the Orthodox Jewish community is one of several examples of this community's ability to remain observant in the face of the challenges of the modern world. Rather than being frightened by technology, Orthodox Jews interact with it and make use of it. For Orthodox Popular music, media perpetuate the messages that propel religious life.

Notes

- 1 The diversity of religious practice and behavior is discussed in more detail in my forthcoming article, "On the Consumers and Creators of Popular Music in the Orthodox Community in Brooklyn, New York," *YIVO Annual* 23. There I define the music and discuss who is listening to it; in this essay I focus on when and where the music is heard, in order to illustrate the use of the cassette medium.



Cover of *No Jew Will Be Left Behind*, one example of a cassette recording of contemporary Orthodox popular music. Avraham Fried, a renowned performer in the Brooklyn Orthodox community, made this recording for Holyland Records in the mid-1980s. The title song of this recording makes reference to the conviction that all Jews will be included in the return to Zion during the Messianic Age.

- 2 My research is based on my ongoing fieldwork since 1989 and extensive interviews with producers and performers of this music and other members of the Yeshiva community living in Brooklyn, New York. The music is also found in the Orthodox communities outside of Brooklyn, but since Brooklyn has the largest Orthodox Jewish community in America, it is the focus of my study.
- 2 Many of the popular recorded songs are played at weddings. The music repertoire played at weddings is constantly expanded by Orthodox Popular music. The music played at weddings needs to be explored to determine the influence of Orthodox Popular music and "traditional *klezmer*" music.

References

- Manuel, Peter. 1988. *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reyes-Schramm, Adelaida. 1975. *The Role of Music in the Interaction of Black Americans and Hispanics in New York City's East Harlem*. Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University.
- . 1979. *Ethnic Music, the Urban Area, and Ethnomusicology*. *Sociology* 29:1-20.
- Slobin, Mark. 1992. *Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach*. *Ethnomusicology* 36:1-87.

Jewish Resources in Computer Networking

Lucia Ruedenberg

During the summer of 1992, one enthusiastic user on the JewishNet discussion list extolled the benefits of computer networking:

Why ignore the potential for networking all major Jewish library collections' catalogs? for making Bar Ilan's responsa database available to any scholar [or] Halachist writing a tshuvah? Can't find genealogical information? Telnet to Beit Hatfutso's [sic] database server and look up your heritage!

Suppose we started a forum for "Jewish" recipes, putting them into a database for anyone to access? I think that the potential is there for Jews to make use of the network in many aspects of Jewish life.

Remember, during the Russian coup, some of the only information smuggled out of the country was through amateur radio and computer networks... when all official communications channels, especially news and phones, were cut off. If the Jews had had such a network at the time of the Holocaust, the entire world would have heard what was going on very quickly, and the war might have been over much sooner.

Whereas Beth Hatefutsoth does not yet have a database server, tremendous strides have been made to take advantage of and promote the potential of computer networking for the Jewish community. For the price of a local phone call, you can:

- get daily translations of the Hebrew press.
- go job hunting, advertise your apartment, discuss politics, religion, philosophy, or education.
- chat with your friends in Australia.
- read electronic diaries posted during the Gulf War.
- meet Jewish singles from around the world.

The Net

If you are a university student or faculty member, you most likely have access to BITNET or the Internet, the two major non-commercial networks for communication and research between academic institutions. If not, networks that provide gateways to them are listed below.

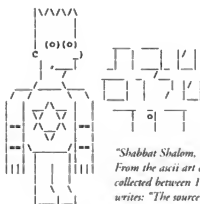
The Internet grew out of ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency), created in 1969 at New York University in

cooperation with the U.S. Department of Defense. In 1986, with the formation of NSFNET (National Science Foundation Network), the Internet expanded to connect universities and researchers across the U.S. and around the world. According to Quarterman (1993), the Internet now extends to more than 40 countries, connecting over 8,000 academic, government, and commercial networks worldwide, comprising about 8 million individual users. The population of a small country, this constitutes the largest and most directly connected community in the world.

BITNET (Because It's There NETwork) is the largest general purpose academic network, founded in 1981 by City University of New York and Yale University. Today, BITNET extends worldwide to all the major academic institutions that use IBM protocol machines. Hank Nussbacher, one of the founders of BITNET at CUNY, moved to Israel in 1982 and is a senior networking consultant to MACHBA, the Israeli Interuniversity Computer Consortium. In an e-mail interview, he recalls that when he moved to Israel he had "a sort of net-withdrawal symptom and lobbied everyone in site [sic] to connect up." Once IBM Europe was convinced to fund BITNET for an initial three-year trial run, Israel was one of the first countries to connect.

By August 1984, BITNET was established in Israel and the Internet followed in August 1990. They are both run by ILAN (Israeli Academic Network). Nussbacher notes:

Nowadays, it has become irrelevant where one sits in the world. The network has reduced



"Shabbat Shalom, Dude," says "Bart-Mitzvah" boy. From the ascii art collection of Lucia Ruedenberg, collected between 1991 and 1993. Ruedenberg writes: "The source for my collection of Jewish ascii art is the subscribers to the discussion list 'il-board' and contributors to the news group 'soc.culture.jewish'. The images are passed around without crediting a particular author/artist, so it is hard to trace who created them. The same images also showed up in the collections of many people who responded to my request for ascii art."

distances as well as time. For people in Israel, the network is especially crucial. Israel is surrounded by hostile neighbors and all our commerce is done with Europe and the USA. The best way to remain in touch with colleagues is via the network.

Considering how slow and unreliable land mail in Israel can be, the network is a boon to researchers who can now exchange documents in minutes. As Steele (1991) notes, the computer makes possible a new form of human communication, better than the telephone and the postal system put together. Not only does it provide high-speed, low-cost transmission of information, electronic networking provides the individual user with an unprecedented degree of freedom and control over the medium itself. Often referred to as "interactivity," this is regarded as a unique cultural discovery of the electronic age. Laurel (1991) concludes that the experience of interactivity is a "thresholdy phenomenon" that is highly context-dependent: "you either feel yourself to be participating in the ongoing action of the representation or you don't."

Networking centers around four basic functions:

- sending electronic mail, usually between individuals, or in a group context such as a discussion list.
- sending large files of text (ascii files), software and graphics (binary files). On BITNET, public files can be retrieved from listservers. On Internet, anonymous ftp (file transfer protocol) sites allow you to copy files back and forth.
- telnet or logging onto a remote computer anywhere in the world to read bulletin boards, participate in conference groups, or search library catalogs.
- chatting with someone who is logged on at the same time as you are, either one-on-one or in a group.

As it is not possible to give detailed instructions for all these functions here, what follows assumes that the reader has some basic networking skills or will be inspired to acquire them. If you are a novice, consult the computing facility at your university regarding getting an account and tutorials. If you are not affiliated with an academic institution, you can gain e-mail access through networks such as Freenet, Nyselink, Delphi, PSILink, CompuServe, AT&T Mail, MCI Mail, Applelink, SprintLink or a local, private bulletin board, most of which are listed in the phone directory. A list of full access sites is available via anonymous ftp from: login.cc.ca: cd pub/fslst/FSLIST-7, or requested through e-mail to: info-deli-server@netcom.com, with "send PDIAL" in the body of the message. Some good user guides to networking are listed in the bibliography below.

Index and Search Services

So many resources are available on the Internet that electronic index and search services are constantly being developed to help users find where information is located. Some basic ones are:

- Archie indexes more than 1,000 anonymous ftp servers worldwide and searches for software by name. Try a public server at The Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Telnet to:archie.ac.il and log in as "archie." No password is required. You can forward questions toarchie-admin@archie.ac.il.
- WAIS (Wide-Area Information Servers) is a directory of servers that searches for documents indexed by key words. To try a public WAIS terminal, telnet to:quake.think.com and log on with the username "wais".
- Gopher is an automated information server that tunnels through the Internet, browsing through other servers and information sources such as Archie, certain libraries, and many WAIS servers. If you don't have a local server, you can use a public server at the University of Indiana. Telnet to:gopher.uiuc.edu and log on with the username "gopher". You'll find six gopher sites in Israel under the geographical locator.
- Veronica is a database server that will search all Gopher servers for key words and extract information for you. You can locate it through a Gopher site under Internet Resources.
- WWW (World Wide Web) is based on the idea that the entire Internet can be made into one vast hypertext that can be searched for key words. If you don't have a local server, try the public server at The Hebrew University. Telnet to:vms.huji.ac.il and log on with the username "www". If you don't have Hebrew support, don't be bothered by the strange letters that may appear on your screen.

Libraries and Databases

With a home computer and modem, you can browse computerized library catalogs around the world from your desk via the Internet. Each library's menu and commands differ slightly, so be sure to read the instructions at each site when you log on, especially how to exit. You can search catalogs to identify references or request interlibrary loans. You can telnet to an individual library if you know its address, or you can use the search services described above.

- RLIN (Research Libraries and Information Network) contains records from the Library of Congress and the Research Library Group (RLG)—30 academic libraries and affiliates. A search will locate all the sites that have a particular item. This saves you searching individual sites separately. You can log onto RLIN from a terminal in a library, or from your home if you have an account. Private accounts are costly, so request your university to get one for you.

Libraries on RLIN relevant to Jewish studies include Brandeis, British Library, Columbia, Harvard, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York Public Library, Stanford, and Yale. Libraries for folklorists include Indiana University, Penn State, UCLA, and UC Berkeley.

A library catalog on the Internet may not fully reflect its holdings as they have yet to complete retrospective conversion or to computerize new holdings. The New York Public Library has a

complete retrospective conversion of its holdings on RLIN. Some of YIVO's special collections are listed on RLIN, but not its books or serials. Kiener (1993) notes that Harvard has the only major Hebraica collection that is available on line in its entirety. Telnet to: hollis.harvard.edu. Choose vt100 as your terminal type. For the Oxford University Bodleian Library, telnet to: library.ox.ac.uk. Enter VT100 as terminal type.

If you can't find what you need in RLIN, check Gopher's "library facilities and catalogs" for a geographical listing. You can browse through an information file on any given library or you can connect by choosing the library name with the <tel> option. A list of online catalogs is available via anonymous ftp from the University of Maryland. Ftp to: [umd5.umd.edu](ftp://umd5.umd.edu); cd info-lib. For more information, join Ha-Safran, the discussion list for the Association of Jewish Libraries. Contact Aviva Astrinsky, AJL Vice-President, for membership: astrinsky@annenres.bitnet.

•ALEPH is the Israeli Interuniversity Computerized Catalogue System. Through a menu you can access libraries and databases in Israel, both in Hebrew and other languages. Seven universities in Israel constitute the ALEPH network. Their catalogs are interconnected and users can switch from one to another once they are inside any ALEPH catalog. You can access ALEPH by telneting to any of the following. Log in as "aleph". No password is required:

Bar-Ilan University	aleph.biu.ac.il
Ben-Gurion University	bgulib.bgu.ac.il
University of Haifa	lib.haifa.ac.il
Hebrew University	aleph.huji.ac.il
Technion	lib.technion.ac.il
Tel Aviv University	tauvax.tau.ac.il
Weizmann Institute of Science	wislib.weizmann.ac.il

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America library also uses ALEPH. Telnet to: jtsa.edu and log in as "aleph". For further details refer to the document "Internet Accessible Library Catalogs & Databases" available via anonymous ftp from [vm.tau.ac.il](ftp://vm.tau.ac.il); (no log in required) cd hawk.400, get library.text. Some major library databases relevant to Jewish studies can be found through ALEPH or the search services described above:

- The index to Hebrew Periodicals and Eretz Israel Database from the University of Haifa Library.
- RAMBI (Index to Articles on Jewish Studies since 1986), at the Jewish National Library of The Hebrew University, is compiled from thousands of periodicals with full bibliographic data.
- An index to the Israeli legal journal (*Mishpateach*) and the decisions of the Supreme Court of Israel, at Tel Aviv University.
- The Institute of Microfilm's Hebrew Manuscripts at the National Library of The Hebrew University.
- The Microfilm Masters of Jewish and Israeli Periodicals

indexes originals and negatives of periodicals in selected libraries in England, the United States, and Israel.

- The Responsa Project: Bar-Ilan University has transferred its Global Jewish Database to CD-ROM and developed an advanced retrieval search program that runs on a PC. Although not yet on line, it is the largest computerized Jewish database in the world. It contains the Tanach, Midrash, Babylonian Talmud with Rashi's Commentary, Jerusalemite Talmud and Rambam and 253 books of Responsa covering a period of over 1,000 years. Information can be obtained from: Ofert Inc., 1 Executive Dr., Fort Lee, NJ 07024; e-mail: 0005332241@mcimail.com. Or: The Responsa Project, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 52900, Israel; e-mail: r70018@barilan.bitnet.
- At present, a library search over the Internet retrieves only bibliographic data on physical holdings. There are a few virtual libraries where the text is accessible on line. For example, the text of the Bible and the Koran, in English, can be found in WAIS (Wide Area Information System) and in Project Gutenberg by searching the Rutgers University reference section, among other sites. Encyclopedias can be found in CARL (Colorado Alliance for Research Libraries). Information on different countries can be found in the CIA World Fact Book, at different sites through Gopher. You can read texts on line or download them.
- An online exhibit of "Scrolls from the Dead Sea: The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Scholarship" is an electronic reproduction of an exhibit from the U.S. Library of Congress as of July 1993. Images include 12 scroll fragments and 29 other objects loaned by the Israel Antiquities Authority. You can retrieve the images via anonymous ftp from: [seq1.loc.gov](ftp://seq1.loc.gov); cd pub/deadsea.scrolls.exhibit. Download graphic files in binary mode. The person in charge is K.D. Ellis of the Special Projects Office: kell@seq1.loc.gov.

E-mail Lists

A discussion list is a form of electronic community, consisting of a group of people who receive postings from each other, usually around a topic. When an individual posts to a list, all subscribers receive a copy as mail. Lists are handled by a server (a piece of software) at a particular node (a computer at an institution), monitored by an individual (usually volunteer). There are over 2,500 Internet and Bitnet lists worldwide. New lists are being created or dropped every day. As of this writing, there are about 120 lists relevant to Jews or Jewish topics. As many discussion lists are archived at various sites, you can retrieve past discussions. You can find lists of Jewish lists, with descriptions and instructions on how to subscribe to them, from the following sites:

- A file that describes about 50 lists devoted to topics of Jewish interest is available on the Global Jewish Network. They include discussions of political activism, Holocaust research, women, religious studies, the UJA, Hillel, Yiddish

scholars, music lovers, Ladino- and German-speaking Jews. Telnet to: vms.huji.ac.il. Log in as "jewishnet" (choose English) and choose "description of Jewish Interest Lists Conferences." You can download the file through the "print" option.

- About 40 lists originate in Israel pertaining to scientific research, computer networking, absorbing *olim*, discussing music, and Japanese board games, to name a few. You can download this file from Tel Aviv University via anonymous ftp from: vm.tau.ac.il; (no login necessary) cd hank.400, get israel.lists. Or, from a Gopher site go to /Middle East/Bar Ilan University/ILAN Network Info.
- If you are looking for a mate, you can subscribe to the Jewish Singles Mailing List (JSML). Write to the moderator, Hillel Steinberg; zeus@zonker.cs.umd.edu. He will send you a template to fill out, after which you receive a list of hundreds of postings from other singles. Or you can send your information in hardcopy to: JSML, 1705 East-West Hwy, Apt 202, Silver Spring, MD 20910.
- Approximately 30 lists on the JerusalemOne Network discuss tourism, *aliya*, student programs in Israel, Jewish singles, computer jobs in Israel, Camera Media Reports, a newsletter from Judea, and the Arab press. JerusalemOne serves as a gateway for five KeshetNet discussion lists on schmoozing, Jewish/Muslim relations, Hasidism, and *halacha*. You can view this list on JerusalemOne's gopher site: jerusalem1.datasrv.co.il, or find it under gopher's geographical locator in Israel. At the 1993 American Jewish Libraries (AJL) conference, Yael Penkower described some creative uses of discussion lists. For example, a member of a synagogue in England prints out all the issues of the mail-jewish discussion list for *halacha*, and adds them to a folder in the *shul* each week, much to the delight of the congregation. Many lists periodically arrange for gatherings where list members can meet face to face.

Another example was announced in April 1993 on the Jewish Electronic Meeting list (JEM). With the help of the Duke University Computer Center, the Durham Orthodox Kehillah at Beth El Synagogue in North Carolina started its own e-mail list for members, most of whom already had electronic addresses. They can now use a centralized address to send out announcements, such as recruiting a *minyan* for observing a *yortsayt*.

Newsgroups

Newsgroups are another form of group discussion that work like a bulletin board. Individuals post to a public site and log on to read them at their leisure. Whereas discussion list etiquette is often (but not necessarily) respectful, newsgroups pride themselves on frank provocative exchanges. Of the over 4,000 newsgroups worldwide, there are about seven related to Jewish topics. If you do not have a local server, you can telnet to a public site: helains.cwru.edu. Log in as a visitor and type "go usenet" at the

prompt. The site is extremely busy, so try it early in the morning or late at night.

One of the most active newsgroups is soc.culture.jewish, a discussion of Jewish culture and religion. Other active groups are talk.politics.mideast and alt.revisionism. The following e-mail lists are also available as newsgroups: il.ads, il.board, il.talk, il.israel.mideast, and il.israel.israeline (the last two are translations of the press, not discussion groups). Scholars of vernacular culture, folklore, communications and Jewish studies will find discussion lists and newsgroups a rich source for research and study. In March 1993, a hilarious thread appeared on soc.culture.jewish under the subject heading "Talmud Fortran"—a cross-fertilization between computer science and Purim humor on the problems of kashering buggy software programs. It included one discussion arranged like a page of Talmud. Past discussions of soc.culture.jewish are archived at the NY-Israel Project and the JewishNet described below.

Jewish Networking

Recent efforts have been made to promote "Jewish networking" in order to facilitate communication and coordination among Jewish communities via electronic "landing" sites, which maintain electronic databases of information files and pointers that help you find things Jewish on the net. Electronic networking decentralizes by encouraging the reproduction of information and communication between otherwise isolated communities. Duplication of efforts reflects a diversity of interests and emphases within the Jewish community.

The Global Jewish Information Network, or JewishNet, is a project of the government of Israel, initiated by Dov Winer in 1988 when he presented the idea to the Ministry of Communications. In May 1993 the Policy Planning Committee for Telematics in Israel included the project into its policy for a national infrastructure, and a committee was established at the Jewish Agency.

As of June 1993, JewishNet has a server at The Hebrew University with full Hebrew support. Telnet to: vms.huji.ac.il. Log in as "jewishnet". If you don't have Hebrew support, choose English and don't be bothered by the strange letters that may appear on your screen. You can download files through the "print" option.

Winer, originally from Brazil, came to Israel in 1966. A psychologist, he taught at Ben-Gurion University, established the Evaluation and Applied Research Unit of the Negev College, has been active in intervention projects in development towns, the Kibbutz movement, and the establishment of networking projects through the Makash association, a non-profit organization for furthering social and educational goals through computer communications. In an e-mail interview, he notes:

When I got acquainted with the possibilities implied by worldwide networking... it was clear that we may reach unprecedented global

integration of the Jewish community. Jewish education, community life, Jewish political action, the countering of processes of decay and disintegration—all these may benefit of such integration. All this may suggest a better prospect for the Jewish People than that foreseen by Jewish demography for the beginning of the next century.

He envisions a network that caters to the needs of Jewish communities all over the world, accessible from every Jewish congregation, institute, school and home, providing services such as e-mail, directories, easy access to databases, electronic newspapers, bulletin boards and conferences, software, educational services and a Jewish electronic university.

JewishNet maintains a database of electronic files on discussion lists, usenet groups, reading lists and FAQ files. It also is a server that provides access to many of the resources and services mentioned in this article. Winer notes that the "Jewish Libraries and Catalogs" option points to formerly buried and unknown holdings in the ALEPH system, and he recommends the filmography and film archives. Browse through "Jewish networking" to learn more about the diversity of Jewish community networks world-wide, including pen-pal programs between students of secondary schools from *kibbutzim*, *moshavim*, cities in Israel, and around the world.

For updates and questions regarding Jewish networking, subscribe to the discussion list: jewishnet@listserv@bgvnm.bitnet.

- A database of files about ILAN (Israel Academic Network) is maintained by Hank Nussbacher at Tel Aviv University. You can download them via anonymous ftp from: [vm.tau.ac.il](ftp://vm.tau.ac.il); (no login required) `cd hank.400`. There is an index of files in the directory. The file "israel.faq" is a collection of Frequently Asked Questions about the Israeli Academic Network. Some other useful files include a list of "Israel.lists", files on Hebrew networking, and a fifty-six-page guide to all relevant information on the Internet that pertains to religious studies. If you want to join the computer networking community in Israel, subscribe to the e-mail lists run by Nussbacher: `il-board`, `il-talk`, or `il-ads` at listserv@taunvim or listserv@vm.tau.ac.il.
- A collection of Israel-related files has been compiled by Jonathan Kamens at MIT (jik@mit.edu). He welcomes contributions and suggestions. The files can be retrieved via anonymous ftp from: [pit-manager.mit.edu](ftp://pit-manager.mit.edu); `cd pub/israel`. They include Israel's Declaration of Independence translated into English, reprints of articles published by CAMERA (The Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America), articles published in the newsletter *Near East Report* affiliated with AIPAC, and journal entries by Robert Werman, an Israeli, written during Operation Desert Storm. To receive an index of files by mail, send e-mail to: mail-server@pit-manager.mit.edu with "help" and "send

israel/index" on separate lines in the body of the message.

- The New York-Israel Project was founded in 1992 by Avrum Goodblatt (originally from Cleveland), at the invitation of Richard Mandelbaum, head of NYSERNET (New York State Research and Educational Network) which serves as the physical link between Israel and U.S. research networks. The actual node for the NY-Israel Project is located in Liverpool, NY. You can access it via Gopher's geographical locator in `/new-york/new-york-israel` project of [nysenet](http://nysenet.org). You can download their files via anonymous ftp from: [israel.nysenet.org](ftp://israel.nysenet.org); `cd israel`. Use your electronic address as the password. You can also access the Project via the JewishNet server.

Whereas the ftp site is public and can be accessed by individuals, accounts on israel.nysenet.org are currently given only to Jewish community organizations. In a recent e-mail interview, Goodblatt explains that the project's goal is to help Jewish organizations provide better services to their communities. The National Foundation for Jewish Culture is spearheading electronic services such as a National Jewish Performing Arts Network and a Jewish theater databank.

The NY-Israel Project provides public conferencing and an online Jewish Information Service of files on how to get around the Internet, Holocaust bibliographies, answers to Holocaust revisionists, documents on hasidim, American-Israel business exchange, Jewish graphics, *kashrut*, *aliya* information, Hebrew programs and software.

An almost complete copy of the Tanach in Hebrew is available at the NY-Israel Project, via anonymous ftp in the directory `/israel/tanach/text/masoretic.chumash/regular(or mac)`. Or, via Gopher in the directory `/new-york-israel` project of [nysenet](http://nysenet.org); `jews` and `judaism/devrei torah/`. Download it in binary mode.

The README files tell an interesting story of how Dan Rice found and prepared the Tanach files and why some of the books are missing. On a philosophical note, he reflects:

I have thrown out all the specifically messy-dos stuff and written some extremely simple programs to play around with the so-called "codes," so that Unix users can also investigate them. No disrespect to the Tanach is intended. I hope that no one will mistake this sort of thing for actual Torah study.

- You can also find the Hebrew Bible at a site in Finland, along with a Hebrew quiz and a Biblical Hebrew language tutorial. Ftp to: [nic.funet.fi](ftp://nic.funet.fi); login anonymous; `cd pub/doc/bible/hebrew`.
- Keshernet is a private, religious network of about 150 Jewish bulletin boards (BBS), with approximately 12,000 users around the world. The New York City affiliate, run by the Lubavitch community in Brooklyn, allows anyone to dial in, read and write messages free of charge for up to 30 minutes

each day. Expanded privileges require a fee. Dial in with your modem to: 1-718-756-7201. Keshernet manager, Aaron Shmeidle, can be reached at: aaron@keshet.lectr.org.

While a private BBS cannot access the larger resources of Internet, it can provide e-mail access, allowing a community without major institutional affiliations to be connected. For a list of Keshernet nodes, look at "Jewish Networking Projects" on JewishNet. For information on Jewish bulletin boards, download the "jewish-nets" file via anonymous ftp from israel.nysernet.org. On gopher, browse through the NY-Israel Project or JerusalemOne described below.

- The Jerusalem One Network was established in the summer of 1993 by the Jewish International Communications Network (JICN), a branch of the Jewish International Association Against Assimilation (JIA). The network is a privately funded, non-profit organization, managed by a board of directors comprised of Israeli business people, professors, and members of the Knesset. Located in Jerusalem, it receives Internet access through Dataserve, a Tel Aviv-based commercial company. JerusalemOne maintains a gopher server at: jerusalem1.datasrv.co.il, or you can find them under gopher's geographical locator in Israel. In addition to discussion lists, JerusalemOne maintains databases on *aliya*, student programs, kosher restaurants, "home-discussion kits," to name a few. Their server acts as a gateway for Fidonet and Keshernet users. To receive updates on new developments on JerusalemOne, subscribe to the list run by network manager, Zvi Lando: one-announce at listserv@jerusalem1.datasrv.co.il.
- An electronic archive of files on the Holocaust and fascism has been established in Canada on the Victoria Freenet. Telnet to: freenet.victoria.bc.ca; login as "guest"; select Government Building from the main menu, and then choose either the "Holocaust" or "fascism" archive. It can also be accessed through JewishNet.

Use of Hebrew on the Net

In order to browse through the Hebrew listings in ALEPH, download Hebrew files, or send Hebrew e-mail, you need communications software that runs Hebrew. For an ongoing discussion on the latest developments in this area, subscribe to il-board or ilan-h@vm.tau.ac.il. Technical files are available via anonymous from: vm.tau.ac.il; (no login) cd hank.400, get [hebrewmail.rfc](mailto:hebrewmail.rfc@hebrew.doc) or hebrew.doc. You can download Hebrew Kermitt via anonymous ftp from: noa.huji.ac.il; cd pub/hebrew_kermitt/hebrew_kermitt.zip. If you need cgabe.com to run the Hebrew Kermitt, you can get this program at the same site. You need to download software in binary mode.

At the 1993 AJL meeting in New York, Reflection4 by Walker Rich Quinn in Seattle was also recommended as software for Hebrew networking.

Chat Modes

Everything described thus far is asynchronous communication; information is stored in the memory of a computer for you to access at your convenience. Synchronous communication is not stored in memory and requires two parties to log on at the same time in order to read each other's messages, although it is possible to log a chat session.

During the Gulf War computer networks provided communication with the world when conventional phone lines were overwhelmed. Many users used RELAY (BITNET) or IRC (Internet Relay Chat), network programs that allow hundreds of users the world over to chat simultaneously. On IRC, for example, there was a channel called #war, where people met twenty-four hours a day to discuss the ongoing crisis.

David in Cleveland relates how he logged on and "fingered" a number of sites until he found someone at The Hebrew University and used interactive "talk" to contact him. He recalls:

He was connected from his "sealed room" at home via modem. After he updated me on the latest radio reports, I asked him to make a few phone calls and gave him a list of names/numbers. As each call was completed he typed the name and status of the family. After that, he asked me to contact some close friends of his in the Cleveland area to let them know he was all right. I continued to contact him throughout the war for status reports during the missile attacks. He was always logged in during attacks.

Many Israelis used discussion lists to communicate with the world during this time. Shahar from the Technion in Haifa remembers that his fifteen-year-old brother subscribed to the KIDS-91 list and communicated daily with other kids on the list. Three Israelis posted "diaries" during the Gulf War. Werman's and Shimshoni's postings are archived at the numerous sites detailed above. Judy Koren from the Technion wrote diaries that are archived with the HUMANIST list at: listserv@brownvm.

Across Borders

For political reasons, some people wonder how computer networks may influence communication between Israelis and their Arab neighbors. Because the Internet has its roots in the academic tradition of open information sharing, security has not been a priority. A recent discussion of this topic appeared during June 1993 on the il-board discussion group, upon learning that two universities on the West Bank had connected to the Internet. One user commented: "Now that El Najah University (najah.edu) and Bir Zeit University (birzeit.edu) are on the Internet, I just wonder if they, too, will be able to subscribe to il.board :-)." Someone replied, "Is there a reason why not?" Others commented, "and we should be able to subscribe to the

PA-BOARD :-)" or "No, they'll have their own palestine.board (autonomous, of course!)" and a third asked, "Wouldn't the Army or ministry of defence restrict or censor [sic] communication via e-mail between Israel and Arab countries?" Finally, someone asked "Does anyone know how they are connected?" which prompted a curious fellow user to do some investigating and report back: "Apparently both sites get their mail via a machine in the math and cs department of Kent State University in Ohio, USA, called rabbit.mcs.kent.edu."

To subscribe to Palestine Net, send email to: pnet@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu, with an introductory note about yourself. It is not run by an automatic listserver.

To locate whether a country has an Internet connection, use the netfind service. Telnet to: bruno.cs.colorado.edu and log on as "netfind". Choose the seed database lookup and type the name of the country you are looking for. Also, a PostScript map of e-mail connectivity is available via anonymous ftp from: ftp.huji.ac.il; cd pub/doc/misc file/ internet.ps.gz.

In response to the above discussion, a user from the Weizmann Institute shared a letter he received from a professor in Iran looking for a text editor for Farsi:

Dear Mr. [deleted],

I am in the process of developing FarsiTeX, based on tex—xet. I am in need of good text editor for that. I downloaded hed, it is fine for Hebrew. But needs to have a completely different mapping for the keyboard. How can I do this? Is it possible to have the source?

thanks a lot

Dr. [deleted]
Sharif Univ of Tech
Tehran, Iran

Direct e-mail between Rehovot and Tehran. Some people like to think about peace, academic co-operation across militant borders, and the power of computers to do good. What is this world coming to!

Note

A longer version of this paper is archived at the Global Jewish Information Network. Telnet to: vms.huji.ac.il; log in as "jewishnet".

References

- Kehoe, Brendan P. 1992. *Zen and the Art of the Internet: A Beginner's Guide to the Internet*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Electronic document available via anonymous ftp from: ashley.cs.widener.edu; cd pub/zen.

Kiener, Ronald. 1993. Visiting Libraries Around the World with Internet: A Powerful Tool for the Judaicist. *AJS Newsletter* 43 (Spring).

Krol, Ed. 1989. *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Internet*. Electronic document available via anonymous ftp from: nis.nsf.net; cd internet/documents/rfc; get rfc1118.txt.

_____. 1992. *The Whole Internet: User's Guide & Catalog*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly & Associates, Inc.

LaQuey, Tracy, with Jeanne C. Ryer. 1992. *The Internet Companion: A Beginner's Guide to Global Networking*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Laurel, Brenda. 1991. *Computers as Theatre*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Penkower, Yael. 1993. Internet and Judaica: The Reference Librarian's Perspective. Unpublished paper presented at the 28th Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish Libraries. 20-23 June 1993, New York City.

Quatterman, John S. 1990. *The Matrix: Computer Networks and Conferencing Systems Worldwide*. Bedford, MA: Digital Press.

_____. 1993. Internet article in *Computerworld*. February 22.

Steele, Guy L., Jr. 1991. Confessions of a Happy Hacker. In Eric Raymond, ed., *The Hacker's Dictionary*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Is there a Jewish way to watch television?

Notes from a tuned-in ethnographer

Jeffrey Shandler

Note: As a Jewish ethnographer I have been engaged in the study of television as an artifact of modern American Jewish life for the past several years. The following is a collection of observations that I have been tucking away while working on various projects, and it constitutes a first effort to address larger issues that particular programs or experiences raise.

Jew/Not a Jew

In Joseph Heller's novel *Good as Gold*, octegenarian Julius Gold watches vintage movies on TV; as actors appear on the screen, he announces to the others in the room which ones are no longer alive:

"That one's gone," he would shout elatedly like the grim reaper himself, as though collaring another trophy for his collection. "A hundred years ago. Old age did him in. Remember that lawyer for the defense? *Geshorben*. Heart attack. Gone in an instant. Look at that big guy there pushing everyone around. You know where he is today?... In *d'rerd*. Now he ain't pushing around people. He's pushing up daisies. A suicide. They tried to hush it up, but they couldn't fool me.... See that taxi driver, the funny one? *Toyt*. Like a doornail. A stroke. Maybe twenty years ago. Lingered a few weeks, then good-bye Charlie. That crooked cop? *Bagruben*. In *d'rerd* also. In a fire, I think. Whiskey had something to do with it too. That one was a *faygeleh*!" (Heller 1979:41-42)

This reminds me of something my father used to do while watching old movies on television; he'd not only tell you who's dead (although without Gold's zeal for the details of their passing), but he'd also tell you which ones were (or are) Jews, sometimes recalling their "original" names. And, because he runs a treatment program for alcoholics, he'd also point out who's what we now call "recovering."

My father's not the only one to play the game. Jews (and, I'm sure, some non-Jews as well) have been pointing out the Jewishness of film, radio and television stars for decades, long before it was presented as "Jew/Not a Jew," a mock TV quiz show on *Saturday Night Live* in the 1980s. What's going on in this game? Very often it entails undoing a masquerade painstakingly engineered by stars and their handlers—name changes, plastic surgery, vocal coaching. It is a subversive act that reverses

the oft-mentioned ethnic nervousness of Hollywood, where for decades studio executives seemed to go out of their way to cast non-Jews as Jews (e.g., George Arliss as Nathan Rothschild and Disraeli) and vice versa (e.g., Jeff Chandler—*né* Ira Gossel—as Cochine), as if to provide celluloid evidence supporting Franz Boas's anthropological assertions that Jews are not a race. The game can be extended to the credits at the end of a program, scrutinized for tell-tale last and even first names. In doing so, are players flouting modern antisemitism, going back to Henry Ford (*The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*) and the author of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, who took special pains to expose "The Gentle Art of Changing Jewish Names"? (Ford 1948) Indeed, this game blithely deconstructs a century's worth of the Jewish pursuit of integration into a mythic image of America, fostered by television culture, as a great living room in which all visitors are equally welcome.

Of course, this is not a game that targets Jews alone. Still, I think something different goes on when African Americans or Greek Americans or Chicanos point to one of "their own" whose presence fills the small screen. While the issue of group pride is often similar, the act of identification itself is, perhaps, less self-conscious in such cases. It's not a matter of members of these groups being more easily recognized by readily available and readable signs—names, skin color, facial features, accents—often this is not the case. I think it is more that the question of identity does not always engender such extensive debate and meta-debate. But in the case of Jews—a group whose existence in the modern era is so infused with discussions of identity and difference—the issue of identity is something else again, as it is for other identities that can be hidden, or whose definition is seen as problematic, or for whom the act of identification has a history of being dangerous. There is a somewhat analogous phenomenon with alcoholics, and perhaps even a stronger parallel with the gay community, where knowing which Hollywood stars were or are "friends of Dorothy" is considered by many to be a vital aspect of gay cultural literacy.

I first started playing "Jew/Not a Jew" with anthropologist Jack Kugelmann a number of years ago, when we were both working at the YIVO Institute. What started out as casual Friday-morning shmoozing about the previous night's episode of *LA Law* eventually became a paper about American Jewish self-portraiture in the media that we presented at the Association for Jewish Studies conference in 1988. It all started when Jack and I couldn't agree on which characters on the series could be/were meant to be identified as Jews (Stuart Markowitz, of course—but Douglas Brackman? Arnie Becker? Roxanne Mellman? Benny

Stolowitz?). This led us to posit the existence of a "sliding-scale" index for the virtual Jewishness of characters, with results as complex and inconsistent as the debate over "who is a Jew" in the "real world." (Kugelmass and Shandler 1988)

Then there is the matter of TV's "crypto-Jews," such as Jason Alexander's George Costanza on *Seinfeld*, or Sophia and Dorothy (Estelle Getty and Beatrice Arthur) on *Golden Girls*. While their ostensible identity is Italian American, and they may kibbitz about lasagna and Sicilian hit men, their appearance, discourse, temperament, or other attributes signal "Jew"—at least to some viewers. (Here, as in other cases, the characters are performed by Jewish actors, but that doesn't account for the "crypto-" identity completely.) There have been similar media marraños throughout American television programming history. During TV's formative days in the post-World War II era, a time of extreme ethnic anxiety, Jews writing for the medium learned to mask their Jewish self-portraits. Ernest Kinoy recalls that "in the days of live television, you'd come into Studio One, or NBC, and Philco, and you'd tell them this long story about this marvelous Italian family. And they would say, 'It's too Jewish.' Because they knew very well that it wasn't an Italian, it was a Jewish family." (Gitlin 1983:185) Disguised Jewish characters are not only exercises in "passing" or in ethnic fusion, but also constitute a measure of the flexibility and tenacity of ethnic loyalty. Thus Irving Howe, writing about the oblique use of Yiddish words by Jewish comedians on American television during the early post-World War II years, describes these encoded signals as a means of "waving to the folks back home." (Howe 1976:569)

Some characters who would appear to be beyond ethnicity are open to the projections of viewers' idiosyncratic assertions. *Star Trek's* Science Officer Mr. Spock is a perfect example. When I worked on a screening and discussion series on ethnic portraiture on prime-time television for the Jewish Museum of New York in 1991, Spock came up several times in discussion. Author Jewelle Gomez, who was the series discussant for science fiction programs, noted that many African Americans identified with Spock, who was stigmatized as "other" because of his skin color and his multiracial background (his mother a human, his father a Vulcan). Charlie Chin, then of the Chinitown History Museum, told me that many Asian Americans feel an affinity for Spock—skin color again, as well as those slanted eyebrows, while the character's Vulcan logic was understood as the equivalent of Confucian philosophy. I, of course, explained to them that Jews lay claim to Spock as a figure of their own sense of "otherness" and "between-two-worldliness"—besides, the actor who plays him is Jewish, his Vulcan hand salute is derived from the gesture made by *kohanim* when they offer a priestly benediction, he works for the Federation (rabbinic love to point this out) and—as I have been told by a member of the Jewish Science Fiction Society—if Vulcan logic is symbolic of anything, surely it must be Talmudic sophistry!

The game of "Jew/Not a Jew" has generated a cottage industry of professional Jewish television watchers, among whom

are the publishers of the *Jewish Televisage Report*, a monthly newsletter that promises to be "your window to the world of Jewish teleimages." This term has been coined by Jonathan and Judith Pearl, two Queens, New York, residents who are also the founders and directors of the Jewish Teleimages Resource Center, "the first and only organization wholly dedicated to exploring, evaluating, and enhancing all aspects of popular TV's portrayal of Jews, Judaism, and Israel—both past and present" and "to fully probing the messages and impact of TV's Jewish themes." In addition to providing subscribers to their newsletter with "advance notice about upcoming programs with Jewish themes" and their evaluations of recent programming, the Pearls present "exclusive, revealing interviews with those who create and shape TV's Jewish images" and proffer their journal as "a forum for the exchange of opinion among viewers and non-viewers, TV's creative forces, community leaders, and other TV/r readers." And, in a move that seems intent on both promoting a sense of viewer activism and catching the attention of the TV industry, subscribers are also given a ballot for their choice for the "Annual Jewish Televisage Awards." (Pearl and Pearl 1993:passim)

Note that the game of "Jew/Not a Jew" generally centers on recurring characters in television's episodic entertainment series. What about "real" Jews who appear on television in other kinds of programs? For example, what is one to make of an installment of ABC's *Nightline*, aired several years ago, in which anchor Ted Koppel debates the pro's and con's of circumcision with two doctors, both of whom, like the program's host, are Jews (and none of whom, of course, ever mention or allude to the fact)? Is it easier to talk about virtual Jews? Is it safer?

Much of the discussion of Jews on television devolves into sorting them into two heaps: "good for the Jews" and "bad for the Jews." This is not unique to assessments of Jewish portraiture on TV—the same is done with Jewish images in fiction and on film—not, again, is it unique to Jews; similar efforts have been made by African Americans, women, gays and lesbians, the disabled, the elderly and other groups. These efforts not only seem to me to be, on the whole, woefully parochial, but are also terribly naïve—wherefore this assumption that television has an obligation to provide "good role models" and "positive images"—and only these—of Jews or of any other group? Why not take on the subject of Jewish TV portraiture by first considering the significance of the medium—starting, say, with the notion of television as having taken on what John Fiske and John Hartley describe as a "bardic function" in modern culture (1978:85), or with the idea that the flow of television programming has become what Horace Newcomb and Paul Hirsch call a "cultural forum" for the presentation and exchange of ideas (1983)? Or, to draw on more recent theoretical models in anthropology, we might consider the implications for this topic raised by Michael Taussig's work on the power of mimesis in the modern world, as facilitated by the means of mechanical reproduction (1993). These ideas liberate one from approaches that rest on passing judgment on the "appropriateness" of individual

characters or programs, and they encourage more nuanced and, I think, useful contemplation of the Jewish presence on television and how Jews and non-Jews alike relate to it.

The Jewish search for Jews on TV is, it seems to me, particularly important as part of the larger search that Jews make for their place in "real life"—looking for Jewish names on the "Hello! My name is ..." tags at conferences, or for a synagogue or kosher restaurant during one's travels around the country, or for the "remnants" of prewar Jewish life on trips to Central and Eastern Europe. This is in part a product of living in a diaspora culture, in which alternative notions of place that are independent of physical turf flourish—Jewish concepts of "home" that range from idealized visions of Zionist utopias to a Yiddishist's notion of "Yiddishland," the "Jewish space" that an orthodox woman defines by listening to Jewish music on her tapeplayer, cited in Mark Kligman's contribution to this issue, or the "Jewish geography" game that Jonathan Boyarin describes in his essay. The search for Jews on TV is, therefore, a very important and legitimate part of an approach to Jewishness in the modern age as a question in constant need of investigation, both at a personal, introspective level and at a communal level.

"Men tor nisht!"
[It's not allowed!].
Illustration from
Yiddish leynbikh far lererin



Men tor nisht!

Volume 1 of *Yiddish leynbikh far lererin* [Yiddish reader for the female teacher], a collection of stories published in 1977 by Brooklyn's Satmar hasidim for use in Bais Rochel girls' schools ends with the following story (which I translate):

Miriam lives near an old woman. She would often help her out—go shopping for her, take out her garbage, sweep the yard, and so on. But she had never been in her house—because that's what her mother had told her to do.

One day, the old woman called to Miriam, "Come see the pretty pictures in the glass! It's called a television. It's very interesting to look at." Miriam, who was six years old, already knew that she wasn't allowed to look at it, and she answered, "I'm not allowed to watch!" "Why?" asked the old woman. Miriam answered, "According to what my dear mother

taught me, watching television is a great sin." The woman was impressed by the clever words of little Miriam, and she never called her into her house again. (Fram, et al. 1977:282-284)

Many Jewish scholars are reluctant to admit that they watch TV. Do they, too, think of it as a great sin, as *bitul Torah*, or as something merely embarrassingly *infra dig*? When Kugelmass and I presented our paper on Jewish self-portraiture at the AJS conference, it was followed by an especially stimulating discussion; perhaps only in sessions devoted to familiar passages in the liturgy or the Bible were so many people as well-versed in the source texts under discussion. Yet a number of people who made comments afterwards felt compelled to preface their remarks with disclaimers, apologizing for their cultural literacy: "I don't watch TV, except, of course, for PBS...."; "I only saw this program because one of my congregants mentioned it..."; "I was flipping channels in search of the news and I happened to see..." (Once again, this is by no means behavior exclusive to Jews. George Will once remarked that "disparagement of television is second only to watching television as an American pastime." [as cited in Schmutz 1987:269])

I recently ran into someone who knows me primarily as a Yiddish studies scholar. When I told her I was writing my dissertation on the presentation of the Holocaust on American television, I could see at once that she was displeased. (Why wasn't I writing about Sholem Aleichem or Moyshe-Leyb Halpern?) "I don't watch much television," she said. "But I did watch *M'A'S'H* with my children—maybe that's why they became doctors. I said to them, 'Look at Alan Alda, he married a Hunter College girl, they're still together.'" These remarks, brief and casual though they might be, reveal both the extent to which television can be a part of Jewish cultural lives and the ambivalence that Jews can feel about it.

The issue of television as a part of Jewish culture is not confined to those Jews who readily embrace a modern, cosmopolitan way of life. While the Satmar hasidim are warning their children against the sins of television, the Lubavitch are making more extensive and vital use of the medium than any other organized Jewish movement. In addition to their extensive implementation of broadcast and videotape programming to maintain ties with their far-flung international constituency, Chabad uses television as a forum for outreach to the general American community. Consider, for example, their annual telethon, which raises money for drug clinics, homeless outreach programs, and other charitable activities that they sponsor. Featuring Hollywood actor Jon Voigt dancing horas with the rebbes and impassioned testimonials from recovered addicts and others helped by Chabad, it is surely one of the most remarkable artifacts of American Jewish media.

I've recently examined the television coverage of the Adolf Eichmann trial, which was seen regularly on national television in the United States and a number of other countries during the spring and summer of 1961. Ironically, these broadcasts, which

anticipated the advent of Court TV by some three decades, were not seen in the land where the trial took place. Israel did not yet have broadcast television, but its government chose the medium both to preserve a record of the proceedings and to disseminate its message to the world. Among the by-products of the televising of the Eichmann trial proceedings are what may be the earliest ethnographies of American Jewish television watching, such as an article in the American Jewish Congress's newsletter on a screening of the TV docudrama *Engineer of Death: The Adolf Eichmann Story* by a Hilld group at Purdue University before an ecumenical audience. In addition to describing viewer responses to the program ("A commercial... was greeted with sighs of relief. The audience seemed glad to be returned to everyday reality." [Engel 1961:7]), the article describes the panel discussion on the topic, "Is There a Nazi Personality?" that followed the screening, as well as an impromptu ritual: "A young man who had escaped the wrath of the Nazis by hiding as a child with partisans in the Polish woods, and now served the local synagogue, stood up [after the program] to recite the mourner's Kaddish.... During the brief Hebrew chant, the Episcopal minister and others [who had attended the screening] crossed themselves in silent devotion." (8) (More recently, Eric Goldman—then of the Jewish Media Service—suggested that the screening of other documentaries and dramas can function in American Jewish culture as "a different haggadah" for the ritual retelling of the Holocaust to future generations. [Goldman 1983:4])

I've also been asking around for people who remember watching the Eichmann trial on TV, especially in New York. Historian Deborah Dash Moore remembered discussing the telecasts in Hebrew school—in fact, her teacher had assigned watching the program as homework. When she told me this, it occurred to me that this might well be one of the earliest reported cases of Jewish children being told to watch TV as homework, instead of being told *not* to watch TV and go do their homework. Perhaps the time has come for more of us to tune in as part of our own homework.

References

- Engel, Gerard. 1961. Campus Reactions to Eichmann. *Congress bi-Weekly* 28:11 (29 May 1961): 7-8, 13.
- Fiske, John, and John Hartley. 1978. *Reading Television*. London: Methuen.
- Ford, Henry. 1948(?) [ca. 1920-1922]. *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*. London(?): G.F. Green(?), undated paperback reprint.
- Fram, A., et al. 1977. *Yidish leyenbukh far lererim: klas 1*. Brooklyn: Bais Rochel Publishing.
- Gitlin, Todd. 1983. *Inside Prime Time*. New York: Pantheon.
- Goldman, Eric A. 1983-4. Film as Haggadah for the Holocaust. *Shoah* 4:1-2 (Fall/Winter 1983-4):3-5, 16.
- Heller, Joseph. 1979. *Good as Gold*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Howe, Irving. 1976. *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Kugelmass, Jack, and Jeffrey Shandler. 1988. Broadcast Jews: American Jewish Self-Portraiture in Contemporary Television and Film. Conference paper. Delivered at the Association for Jewish Studies Conference, Boston.
- Newcomb, Horace M., and Paul Hirsch. 1983. Television as a Cultural Forum: Implications for Research. *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 8:3 (Summer): 45-56.
- Pearl, Jonathan, and Judith Pearl. 1993. Jewish Teleimage Report: The Guide to Popular Television's Jewish Images. Promotional brochure, Fall 1993, unpaginated.
- Schmuhl, Robert. 1987. Coming to Terms with Television: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography. In *Television in Society*, ed. Arthur Asa Berger. pp. 269-277. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.
- Tausig, Michael. 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge.

From Makó to Margaret Mead: Mediating Memory in an Ethnographic Film

Aviva Weintraub

On rare and special occasions, the viewing of an ethnographic film can become an ethnographic experience. The Sunday afternoon screening of Hungarian anthropologist János Tari's *As Far as Makó from Jerusalem* at the American Museum of Natural History's Margaret Mead Film and Video Festival in the fall of 1992 was just such a multi-layered event.

As Far as Makó from Jerusalem is a series of documentary films shot in 16mm and totaling approximately 180 minutes, made between 1989 and 1992. The segments can be viewed with coherence individually, but cumulative viewing is most rewarding. A filmmaker affiliated with Budapest's Ethnographic Museum, Tari's hometown is Makó, Hungary. The films trace

Jewish residents of the town of Makó to their current homes in Israel, England and the United States.

At the Mead Festival screening, hasidic members of the New York Makó Jewish community were present. Usually, hasidim adhere to a religious injunction against attending movies, but this was a clear exception. As an ethnographer in the audience, I was torn between watching the film and observing the audience, who watched in much more of an interactive mode than regular movie-goers. Most notably, they clapped whenever someone from their community whom they wanted to honor appeared on screen. They also clapped enthusiastically when the director's name appeared on the screen.

There seemed to be an almost constant murmur in the theatre, despite repeated shushing from the more conventionally focused festival audience. Plastic bags with treats for the kids rustled, babies cried—and, as in life, the crying seemed to increase during the synagogue scenes, where crying babies always seem to be part of the soundtrack.

Taken as a whole, the films that comprise *As Far as Makó From Jerusalem* are made up of many layers of media that invite layers of looking and evoke layers of memory. Tari constantly introduces different forms of mediation—ranging from the photograph and photo album to the computer and the telephone—to call attention to his self-conscious examination of the layers of memory culture.

The first segment in the series is the only one of six to have been shot entirely in Makó, and thus begins the irony of a film about ideas of home, only a fraction of which is filmed in the "home town" of the Makó Jews. Each segment begins with a short narrative allowing the filmmaker to introduce himself and his subject matter: "I was born in Makó, in southern Hungary. When I was a child my mother worked in a small cooperative workshop established after the Second World War by a group of local Jews. One day two of her workmates, Editke and Zoltán, showed me an old school photograph...."

It is through this photograph and the memories it sparks that we meet a number of the key players who will reappear throughout the film. The most endearing is Mirjam Hajnal, in town on a visit to Makó from her home in Tel Aviv. The population of Makó was one-tenth Jewish before World War II. Those who survived the war and returned home met with continued antisemitism: Mirjam says, "We were lucky that just then a country was born where we were more than just tolerated." Many more of Makó's Jews left Hungary after the 1956 revolution.

Much of the outline of the story told in the films is a familiar one of Europe after the war: those who stayed, those who left, reunions, separations. The uniqueness of this film is in the way the people are allowed to come across as individuals. Tari does not rush the story; he spends considerable time with each of his subjects. In fact, the shooting ratio of the film is 2:1 (i.e., half of all the footage shot actually appears in the film). This is quite high for a film of this sort—usually a great deal more ends up on the cutting-room floor.

Unlike the tendency of many American filmmakers to cross-cut for quicker action and to sacrifice depth for breadth, Tari stays with each of his subjects; his patience translates to effortless viewing for the audience. There is a flow and an ease to the film which invite one to watch and re-watch—the sensation is of meeting and then being reunited with familiar friends.

A great deal of the film is about memory, specifically about Makó before the Holocaust. Tari, a non-Jew who grew up in Makó in the 1950s, becomes a link to the past for Jewish former residents of Makó now scattered around the globe. At his insistence, they jog their memories, tell their stories, dig out their boxes of photographs—to fill in the missing details of his picture of his home town. He invokes the fact of his origins in Makó at the beginning of each segment: it is his calling card.

Our first view of Makó comes not from new footage but from old picture postcards. Much of the geographics of the film are supplied by already-made (media-*ted*) images of Makó, from photographs and postcards to videotapes and computers. Pierre Nora writes that "memory attaches itself to sites." (1989:22). In this film, media functions as a site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) when, for instance, instead of walking around the old neighborhood to spark memories, photo albums are brought out and the neighborhood is toured from a distance of both time and place. In Tel Aviv, Mirjam can point out the first house built (in 1909). But to talk about Makó, she takes Tari to Beth Hatefutsoth, the Museum of the Diaspora, where she works, to look it up in the computerized atlas of European towns where Jews once lived. Mirjam says, "It's all a story of the past." At home, she looks through a photo album of snapshots from Makó and then at a home video of her mother living on a kibbutz.

Later, she says with full irony and a bitter-sweet smile, "I should be grateful to the Hungarians and Makó. If I'd stayed there, I'd have missed joining El Al [airlines]," where she had an exciting job. In Makó, Mirjam is quieter, sadder. In Tel Aviv, a slight angry edge comes through in her words. The repetition in each opening segment of Tari's words "Makó, my home town," in addition to being the filmmaker's calling card or justification for the film, begin to have an air of apology. On the Israeli television news in the background, Ethiopian Jews are evacuated from Addis Ababa to Israel: another layer of history is added to the story by the layering of media (television on film). Segments three and four follow Imre Gát, another Makó native, in his daily routine in London and on a visit to Israel. Most of the London segment shows a day in the life of Imre. In *cinéma-vérité* style, Tari follows Imre as he collects the money from the laundromat he owns and checks in on his take-out shop. By changing the style of filming within the series, Tari calls attention to the act of filmmaking. He reminds the viewers that it is not an invisible hand that records these stories.

At times, Tari turns the camera on himself and makes explicit the effect that his presence has on the creation of the film. One such scene takes place in Jerusalem when Imre looks for other Makóvers near a block of apartment buildings formerly known as the Hungarian Houses. Two hasidim grill Imre on his

religious practices, then turn to the filmmaker and cameraman: "Is he Jewish?" they ask Imre. "They are not," Imre answers. As they smile and wave, one of the hasidim says, "As long as they don't harm Jews...." Later the hasidim ask (in Hebrew), "Are they both Hungarians?"

Imre: "Only one. One's English...but they are not Jewish."

Hasid: "It doesn't matter."

Imre: "It does. I was happy that they are guys [sic] telling the story of the Makó Jews, what happened to them."

The inclusion of these scenes in the film adds a layer of depth: the filmmaker is not an invisible, fly-on-the-wall observer or an omniscient narrator. His story, too, is a part of the story being told, and it shapes the narrative in ways both implied and explored throughout the film.

Segment four finds Imre's London friends, Eszti and her husband, preparing for a trip to New York to visit their children for Hanukkah. Once in Manhattan, waiting outside a jewelry center on 47th Street, Tari encounters other Hungarian Jews, some from Makó. Out on the sidewalk, he shows them his photo album of Makó as if presenting his credentials. A small crowd forms, pointing and telling stories, and Tari's camera records the spontaneous gathering.

In her daughter's home in Monsey, New York, Eszti gets a phone call from an old friend: "This one's sister-in-law was my father's second wife. What a small world!" Makó begins to feel like an exclusive club with members all around the globe. "Let's go and visit her," Tari suggests. The two friends reminisce and look at more old photographs from Makó.

An old man comes into the room and points to Tari: "That man isn't from Makó, is he?"

Voices off-camera: "They're from London."

Old man: "Are they Jews?"

Eszti: "This young man is from Makó, not the others."

Tari: "And we're not Jews, we're just from Makó."

Old man: "Jews or not Jews?"

Tari: "We're not Jews, we're good friends."

Woman's voice off-camera, (probably Eszti): "A good friend means a lot."

Old man: "Very good."

The camera rolls as Eszti's friend tells of a blood libel case in Hungary from three hundred years ago, and records other frank conversations about antisemitism. Again they look at the Makó photo album: Tari is the keeper of present-day Makó; the Jews he interviews unlock the past for him.

Postcards, photographs and snapshots appear throughout the film. In the final segment, entitled "Benjamin," the film itself (in progress) plays a role. Tari's narration opens the segment: "I first met Benjamin in Makó, my home town, several years ago. He was on his annual visit from Israel to the Makó Jewish Cemetery. Later I visited him in Israel, where he expressed an interest in seeing the material we had shot of him...."

Benjamin shows Tari old black-and-white photographs of the market square in Makó. He and Tari know the same streets and landmarks ("by the statue of Kossuth"), but Benjamin's is a

geography of the past. While he can converse with Tari about the streets of Makó, it is in Jerusalem that Benjamin feels at home: "Nobody can say that we should move on. It's a great relief to me."

With his wife, Benjamin sits at a Steenbeck flatbed film editing machine and watches footage of himself and other Makóvers: "Interesting. I can see myself." He watches himself crying at the grave of his father in Makó, as he tells Tari of their plans for this year's trip, which is soon approaching.

The entire segment moves back and forth between unedited footage and the scenes of Benjamin and his wife watching rushes on the Steenbeck. Rather than viewing passively, however, Benjamin interacts with the material as his memory is jogged again—this time, by an event in the not-so-distant past. They watch scenes from a wedding in which Benjamin's brother-in-law comes up to Tari and says, "This is new to you, isn't it?" Benjamin, watching the film says to Tari, "You see, my brother-in-law."

Tari asks, "How old is the grandmother?" "Eighty-one." "She's really from Makó?" "Yes, all the parents, the uncles were born in Makó. All came from there." Tari seems incredulous—all these Makóvers that he doesn't know, his would-be neighbors spread throughout the world.

Later in the segment, scenes of a crowded memorial service in Bnei Brak for the Makó rebbe are framed by Benjamin's voiceover: "They tried in vain to kill off the Jews in Makó. They'll never manage that. Wherever there are two from Makó, it's a community." The bustling scenes of Bnei Brak give way to scenes of Benjamin and his wife—a community of two—as they drive away from the Makó cemetery down muddy tracks in the back of a small white truck.

In a strange way, at the end it is Tari who is left behind in Makó, holding the camera - as the others return to their homes around the world. As they continue their lives, he remains the documenter. Even at the Mead Festival screening, Tari's camera was rolling, gathering more material about his hometown of Makó.

Note

- 1 The television version is made up of four 45-minute segments, while the film/archival version is six parts each, 20 to 45 minutes in length. English-subtitled prints and video cassettes of *As Far As Makó From Jerusalem* are available from the National Film and Television School Library, Beaconsfield Studios, Station Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks, HP9 1LG, United Kingdom; telephone 44-494-671234; fax 44-494-678622. The Makó series or parts of it have also been shown at the Tel Aviv Student Film Festival (1990), Edinburgh Film Festival (1990), Paris Bilan Ethnographique (1993), and others.

Reference

- Nora, Pierre. 1989. Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire. Representations* 26:7-25.

Heritage, Civilization and the Jews

Ilana Abramovitch

How has American television documentary portrayed Jewish subjects? Jews have been featured in documentaries on the Holocaust, Middle East politics, and early 20th century immigration. However, it was not until the high-toned series, *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews* (henceforth, referred to as *Heritage*) that American television attempted to put Jews into the big picture of Western civilization.

Heritage is a fascinating collage of visuals and text about the Jews in world history; its ideological choices invite extensive analysis. Here, I will limit myself to comments about the images and texts presented in the opening moments of each episode. These frames of the viewing experience are key to understanding the producers' notions of "Jews," "Civilization," and "*Heritage*." Although they form a small segment of the whole, they bridge episodes produced with entirely different teams and provide a definition of the series as a whole. In *Boxed In: The Culture of Television*, Mark Crispin Miller has argued that a thirty-second ad is as important as a full-length drama when it comes to understanding television as an ideological vehicle of contemporary culture. The following essay explores the collective self-allurement and self-solace of the first micro-moments of *Heritage* episodes.

Heritage, a highly ambitious television series, was produced by WNET/NY and aired on American public television in nine one-hour segments from 1 October to 19 November 1984. It was seen by over 50,000,000 Americans and reshowed in an encore presentation beginning 23 January 1985. Well publicized, the series won the highest television honors, including two CINE Eagle Certificates, awarded for "the series' suitability to represent the United States and American cinematography in international festivals abroad," and it was broadcast in Great Britain and Israel (Morgenstein 1985:2). Hailed by its producers as the first of its kind, as much for its unprecedented educational projects as for its expense and size, *Heritage* concerned itself with the 3,000-year-long interaction between the Jewish people and Western Civilization.¹ It took five years to make and entailed sending film crews on expeditions to nineteen countries. Essential to its mission was a series of highly developed educational materials aimed at four different target audiences and a dense companion book of Jewish history (Eban 1984a) that sold over 200,000 copies and made The New York Times Best Sellers list for over four months.

Heritage was a monumental media event. The "Heritage Education and Outreach Programs" were planned to be "more comprehensive than anything previously attempted" in public television education programs (Morgenstein 1984a:4). The project was designed as "a series that would last, with each element reinforcing the other," according to Robert Kotlowitz (1984:2), WNET/New York's Editorial Council Head, "From the

beginning, the desire to create a television series that would enjoy almost permanent relevance dictated the need for accompanying educational courses." The educational materials, designed by eminent scholars, included an accredited college telecourse "available for use by every college and university in the country" (Morgenstein 1984a:4); 60,000 Teacher's Guides distributed to every high school in the United States; an illustrated 72-page interreligious Viewer's Guide designed for adult learning centers; and a series of direct mail packets designed for displays and discussion groups in 6,000 public libraries. Aside from its many press releases, the project produced its own *Heritage Newsletter* "to heighten public awareness of this epic series." (Morgenstein 1984b:1)

Despite an enormous fund-raising drive and substantial backing by the Charles H. Revson Foundation and other prestigious underwriters (including the National Endowment for the Humanities and two major Israeli banks) financial problems and planning difficulties forced the producers to radically condense the contents of each episode: "A People is Born" (13th to 6th centuries B.C.E.); "The Power of the Word" (6th century B.C.E. to 2nd century C.E.); "The Shaping of Traditions" (1st to 9th centuries C.E.); "The Search for Deliverance" (1492-1789); "Roads From the Ghetto" (1789-1917); "The Golden Land" (1654-1932); "Out of the Ashes" (1917-1945); "Into the Future" (1945-present). TV critic Marvin Kitman captures the experience of viewing *Heritage's* concentrated inclusiveness: "[This show is] . . . not for dedicated nonlearners. If you make a phone call or go to the john, you miss 300-400 years." (1984:22)

The very first visual image, one of a series of program logos, gives information about the funding of *Heritage*. In the background, only desert and a craggy mountain; in the foreground, a partial list of sponsors. This visual frame of Mount Sinai sets the context for the series. Jewish tenets (here represented metonymically as Mount Sinai) are consistently linked to origins, immovables, first principles; they are glossed eternal as nature. In this first image, even Jewish finance is uplifted to the realm of divine principles while aligned with solidity and rock-hard security.

The next introductory sequence features outlined letters of the Hebrew alphabet filled in with images of Jewish history. By now rather commonplace in television, this visual play with letters is particularly apt for a series on the Jews. Texts, words, and letters are central to Jewish self-definition. The epithet "the people of the Book" is accepted by insiders and outsiders alike. The highest value of Judaism is study of the holy book; in the mystical tradition, there is holiness in the letters themselves.

What animates the inside of the *Heritage* logo letters? Congruent with the advertising aesthetic of television logos, we

find a dazzling preview of images linking Jews and Western culture: the arch of Titus, details of ancient mosaics, a shrouded painting of Jesus, illuminated manuscripts, music scores, Rembrandt's *Jewish Bride*, Gertrude Stein by Picasso, photos of Freud and Anne Frank. The linkage of notions of "heritage" to images of recognizable art and high culture reinforces the series's proposition that civilization is enduring and traditional (Clifford 1988).

The penultimate move in this letter sequence is a quick pan from the face of a bright-eyed blond child to the book in her lap, inscribed with the Hebrew *aleph-bet*. The determined pilgrimage of the camera to its resting place on the page reinforces a subliminal message: Jews can be blond, beautiful, Western, physically indistinguishable as Jews. They are, nonetheless, inextricably linked, as Sander Gilman (1985) has pointed out, to their powerful and mysterious language. Television is the locus for these powerful yet subtle juxtapositions. Here the visual text fleetingly, yet repeatedly, promotes the paradoxical message of Jewish similarity with mysterious difference.²

This first image of Mount Sinai suggests a resonance between the broadcast of *Heritage* and the granting of the Ten Commandments. Like Moses, leader and communicator Abba Eban bears a message from on high as series host/narrator. For the Diaspora, Cambridge-educated Eban is an indexical figure of the best of Jewish participation in the non-Jewish world. Viewers can follow Eban discoursing in scholarly fashion—always in suit and tie—on Mount Sinai, at the Red Sea, in Jerusalem, at the Roman Forum, etc. As the knowing host and participant in the chronicled history, Eban's physical presence in historically charged landscapes lends an aura of authenticity to the TV text. A documentary series on Public Television with Abba Eban as host, on location at holy sites, is a package of signifiers marked as authoritative.

Civilization

Authority is further derived from the series's name. *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews* was modeled on Kenneth Clark's BBC series *Civilization*. In both programs, a respected expert provides the scholarly frame for the grand narrative and is shot on location, enveloped by the magnificent icons of Western Civilization. BBC productions have been, and continue to be, emulated by American Public Television as the ultimate in tastefulness.

Association with Lord Clark, "one of the foremost connoisseurs of our century," (Price 1989:8) would indeed offer distinction to a series about Jews, who have been historically seen as marginals. It was Clark, after all, who was able to offer *Civilisation* as "A Personal View" for mass consumption. Clark's personal views on the canon of civilized taste are taken to stand for the highest of Western breeding. Eban's "silken eloquence" (Waters 1984:73) can similarly stand for good breeding and excellence. Eban becomes the personification of Jewish *Bildung*. Unlike Clark, however, he does not here present a "personal view."

Although Eban introduces himself as scholar of history and language, he did not write the script. *Heritage* is a corporate view. Eban is narrator because the producers knew he could amass the audience and the funding for *Heritage*. For the text, however, they preferred a multivocalic script and apportioned pieces to acknowledged experts. On screen, Eban is more a figurehead than scholar and historian.

The introductory narration establishes the series's horizons. Abba Eban's cultivated voice announces, "The series begins, as did civilization itself, in the ancient Near East." In this synecdoche, the distance between *Heritage* and its referent is minimized; the series takes its legitimacy from its recapitulation of the hoary narrative of which it is a part. Yet, in doing so, it misses opportunities for reflexivity, as the series's significance seems designed to merge with its contents. Eban continues: "The story of civilization is the story of our origins, who we are, how we came to be..." With this, the verbal text places the viewer in a position of identification with the first person plural of the God-like narrator. The story of all civilization is here conflated with the story of the Jews. Jews and non-Jews alike can thus be included in the birth of values, the locus of origins.

Eban makes it clear that the value of the tradition we are about to study is that, unlike other lost, buried, and otherwise ruined empires, Jewish heritage has run "unbroken to today" following "a course of ideas that gives meaning to the experience of civilization." In keeping with its nineteenth-century emphasis on conservative elements of tradition, in the spirit of Matthew Arnold, the text here employs an organic sense of continuity, ignoring the complexities of language, representation, and rupture.

Kenneth Clark had only "Civilisation" in his title. The Jews have "Civilization" and "Heritage." Civilization is a concept with a long and changing history. Its use in the singular has become a Eurocentric emblem for the West as the paradigmatic civilization. Whatever the current debate in archaeology, the term "Civilization" has been supplanted in scholarly writing (in the disciplines of anthropology and history, at least) since about 1915 by the term "cultures," usually referred to in the plural (Kroeber 1963). Popular culture may use the term loosely, yet even non-technical literature accepts the existence of many civilizations: the debate, if any, is about how many and what constitutes a civilization. Civilization, in the singular, is a term that harkens back to the work of nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropologists, who were explicitly interested in origins and the degree of human development as a whole. The total achievements of the most "advanced" people to date were tallied, as if civilization were a universalist unilinear development, with lesser peoples at different stages of evolution. While *Heritage* is a work of mass entertainment with an educational thrust, it makes claims to scholarly status and "enlightenment." Its use of these terms reveals its primary marketing orientation and distance from critical artistic and scholarly work. Nor, indeed, can Western Civilization be conceived of as unitary. Given their history of marginalization,

Jews should be the first to acknowledge its "play of projections, doublings, idealizations and rejections of a complex, shifting otherness." (Clifford 1988:272) Indeed, to what extent have Jews been accepted historically as strictly "Western"? Aschheim (1982) has shown that, by the mid-nineteenth century, Jews from Eastern Europe had become stereotypes in German Jewish consciousness as "half-Asian" objects of scorn. And the view of Jews as "Orientals"—that is, as those who do not belong to Western European Civilization—was similarly shared by the Nazis.

Heritage³

In his discussion of the genesis of *Heritage* Eban is characteristically expansive: "this will breed enlightenment in every American, because so much of America's legacies go back to the origins of which we speak." Eban's linking of the origins of Jewish and American legacies is key to the timing of the *Heritage* project. Three important phenomena can be considered in this regard: the situation of American Jews in the 1970s and 1980s, the "heritage industry," and American philosemitism.

When *Heritage* was conceived in the late 1970s, Jews in America were experiencing a high point in their general level of comfort and political power. Identification of Jewish interests with American interests had been strengthened among mainstream Jews. From the broader American perspective, this was ratified in *Heritage's* awards conferring its "suitability to represent the United States and American cinematography in international festivals abroad." From the Jewish side, a visual token of this merging can be seen, for example, in the logo of the powerful lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee: a *magen david* made up of stars and stripes. This bold logo nonetheless reveals the paradox of Jewish vulnerability. Having been championed for decades, Israel was now being heavily criticized for its politics by the U.S. government and was losing its credibility in the Western media, while Arabs were being more positively portrayed (Marfleet 1982). The U.S. had even sanctioned the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia in 1978. The honeymoon was clearly over, and mainstream American Jewish interests were seeking evidence on all levels of society of the union of American and Jewish values. As Irving Howe (1989:71) put it: "[The malformed consciousness] can be seen in the confusions of American Jews who feel themselves simultaneously secure and endangered, strong and weak, at home and homeless, liberated from yet also burdened with the Jewish past." *Heritage* can be understood as part of the war of images about Jews and the Middle East in the U.S. media.

Since the 1970s, the boom in the "heritage industry" has encouraged Americans of many ethnic and racial backgrounds to dig for national and particularistic roots. The TV series *Roots* and *Holocaust* emerged from the U.S. Bicentennial's spirit of historical re-examination (Barnouw 1990). Michael Kammen (1991:691) has written on the astounding increase in institutions based on the commercialization of memory. The heritage industry "has helped to perpetuate appealing visions of the timeless past, stable evolutionary change and history with a minimum of

conflict and maximum aesthetic and patriotic appeal." In business, "heritage" connotes "integrity, authenticity, venerability and stability." (625) Jews were not left untouched by this phenomenon. The creation of *Heritage* was part of the overall response by American Jews to the search for roots.

Even more explicitly, *Heritage* was drawing upon a long-standing American tradition of philosemitism. America and the Promised Land of Israel for centuries have been regarded as echoes of each other. The story of America, its founding and status as a haven for the oppressed, has been narrated since its colonization in the language of the Bible. The story of the Exodus, the escape from bondage or a search for a new Canaan (Sollors 1986) have become paradigmatic stories about America itself. The text of *Heritage* places emphasis on the convergence of the American ideal of democracy with the ancient Jewish celebration of freedom.

Eban seems enticed by the vast intrusive power of the broadcast medium and its aptness to the story of the Jews:

Even if television hadn't existed, we would have had to invent it to tell this story ..., the panoramic nature of the tapestry ..., the ability to tell it to millions in a few weeks and to internationalize and preserve this form of electronic literature ..., which leads me to hope that it will be a major intellectual experience for all those who want to study the roots of their civilization, which means every Jew and every Christian and every Moslem. (1984b:passim)

It is curious that Eban supports the suitedness of the television medium for the story of the Jews and Civilization. A comparison between his book, *Heritage* (and his other writings), and the text for this television series reveals a number of interesting disparities. In his writings, for example, Eban is more liberal on contemporary Israeli politics—repeatedly insisting, for example, that Israel's continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is a disaster for all concerned. In his autobiography (1977), he talks about how intolerable it is to maintain a duality of experience between Jewish and Arab residents of Israel. And in a 1986 article, he states, even more vehemently: "The idea of exercising permanent rule over a foreign nation can only be defended by an ideology and rhetoric of self-worship and exclusiveness that are incompatible with the ethical legacy of prophetic Judaism and classical Zionism." (Eban 1986:22)

Here Eban is taking seriously the notion that Jewish history contains a serious ethical message with relevance for political life, a code of behavior that applies to all. Unfortunately, no such critical voice is raised in the television text. With Jews in the center, who is in the margins? We find Eban speaking only pious and fleeting words of the "dilemma" of the fate of the Palestinians, in the context of the history of the founding of the Israeli state. Here the Israeli Sephardi majority are spoken of as having a style that "colors the culture." The humanist cosmopolitanism of

contemporary Ashkenazi archeologists is visually juxtaposed with the exotic agricultural practices of contemporary Arabs, which are used to illustrate a sequence on "ancient man." When this off-handed analysis of serious Israeli inequities is juxtaposed with self-congratulatory statements about Jewish concern for human dignity, the result is a rupture in the text; the touted universalism rings hollow. In Edward Said's terms, this script itself is presented as a "heritage," bounded and intact, not given to interpretive leaps without its cracking open. (1975) One wonders why Eban considers the story of the Jews to be so well-adapted to the broadcast media. In this case, the utopian fantasy of television, its visual seductiveness and seamless presentational style blocks the reality of corporate sponsorship and control. It excludes voices of dissent in political matters of contemporary currency. Here we cannot necessarily fault Eban, for if we compare *Heritage* to the text of his 1993 television series, *Israel: A Nation is Born*, we find he is more outspoken about the political difficulties of contemporary Israel and about his own agency in politics and television text.

Apparently, *Heritage* was very popular in the American Bible belt (Fox et al. 1984). So, how did Jewish audiences respond? The text was bound to be contested, and it was. One of the themes in the narrative was the ongoing cultural exchanges between Jews and peoples among whom they have dwelled. This point upset certain Jewish groups, which believe in the boundedness of their tradition (Fryshman 1984, "Browsing" 1985). Indeed, the subtext in *Heritage* is the unaddressed tension between values of liberalism, rationalism and enlightenment—deemed valuable in the humanistic universalism of the script—and Jewish particularism (Benjamin 1989:75). This important and ticklish issue of Jewish particularism, because unaddressed, reduces the value of the text to both religious, as well as secular, scholars.⁴ In *The Jewish Observer*, a journal addressed to Orthodox Jews, Fryshman sums up his estimation of the series: "Jews without heritage, 'Heritage' without Jews." From his viewpoint, the secular approach to sacred history represents a profane perspective which negates Jewish traditional memory.

The allusions of *Heritage* to the Jewish passion for written word, the "textual homeland," might have reminded its producers to demonstrate its own principles. A revelation of its own implication in textuality, as film and television, would have shown refreshing reflexivity, a parallel to the multivocalic interpretive practices which form the central core of Torah study (Shohat 1989). What could be more Jewish, indeed, than a debate over sources and interpretations? And what better medium than television, which offers a "cultural forum" for exchange of ideas? (Newcombe and Hirsch 1983) Surely, the producers' motives were laudatory when they assigned different teams to the production of each segment; they wished to avoid staleness and to apportion work to acknowledged experts. Yet, *Heritage* often falls back on mainstream celebratory images of Jews. In the end, the producers did not incorporate the textual strategies embodied in the critical perspective of some of their scholarly advisors. This is unfortunate, not because the narrative and images are blatantly

falsifying. Indeed, the story of the Jewish contribution to the history of "Western Civilization" has been largely unknown to the general public. This series, with its spectacular visuals, impeccable host, soaring music and scholarly credentials was an opportunity to fill in that gap for a naïve audience. Yet the lack of strong vision did not translate itself into an inanimated, dialogic text. On the contrary, it produced a series which skims the surface, presenting a superficially polymorphous view, based more on conceptual confusion than on a multivocality, despite formulaic obseance to cultural exchange.

Francine Klagsbrun, writing in *Congress Monthly* (1984:10), captures an overview of *Heritage* as a cultural signifier. It is to be judged not so much in terms of its overt text, as in its symbolic importance as icon of Jewish "arrival" in U.S. society:

Perhaps the most telling indication of the integration of the Jews into world civilization is the fact that a multi-million dollar series was built around their history and shown on public television to an estimated twenty million viewers, a large proportion of them not Jewish.

Notes

- 1 Earlier educational efforts in the TV representation of Jews had been expended in 1978 for the NBC *Holocaust* miniseries, but they were not of the same grand scale, nor were they meant to have a permanent educational presence.
- 2 Gilman (1985:2) points out that the liberal fantasy is that anyone is welcome to share power if he or she abides by the rules of the reference group (i.e., abandon your difference and you may become one with us), but the hidden qualification of the internalized reference group persists: "the more you are like me, the more I know the true value of my power, the more I am aware that you are a counterfeit." "The central paradigm of self-hatred is but a carbon copy of the nature of stereotyping: in its dynamic reaction to shifts in perception, it is a constantly fluctuating series of self-images." (12)
- 3 The word "heritage" has an interesting history, which includes notions of inheritance and property, both material and spiritual. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., 1989) lists one of the meanings of "heritage" as "The people chosen by God as his peculiar possession; the ancient Israelites; the Church of God." Thus, in the New Testament, the Ancient Israelites themselves stand for the cultural heritage! The implications of this line of investigation is beyond the scope of this paper.
- 4 The question of universalism of the Jewish message, whether in texts or in politics, is raised in a heated debate between Edward Said and Michael Walzer that took place in the pages of *Grand Street*, and is partially reprinted in Said and Hitchens (1988). Said accuses Walzer—in his book on the political message of the Exodus story in the Bible, *Exodus and Revolution*—of being disingenuous. Walzer (1985) argues for a left-wing Zionism based on his "social democratic version of Exodus." Said claims that both the original Biblical text and its current citation in Israeli politics demonstrate Jewish particularism.

References

- Aschheim, Steven E. 1982. *Brothers and Strangers*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Barnouw, Erik. 1990. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. 2nd rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Benjamin, Jessica. 1989. Victimology. *Tikkun* 4(March/April):75-7.
- "Browsing." 1985. [Review of *Heritage*.] *Jewish Spectator* (Spring):8-9.
- Clifford, James. 1988. *On Orientalism*. In *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. pp. 255-276. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Eban, Abba. 1977. *Abba Eban: An Autobiography*. New York: Random House.
- . 1984a. *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*. New York: Summit.
- . 1984b. Remarks by Abba Eban at the Television Critic's Association June Press Tour: Phoenix, Arizona. WNET/THIRTEEN Press Release, 5 Sept.
- . 1986. The Central Question. *Tikkun* 1(March/Apr.):19-22.
- Fox, John, Milton Ginsberg, Eugene Marner and Catherine Gay. 1984. *The Documentary Process: Research, Writing, Production, and Editing: Using Heritage as a Case Study*. A Center for Communication Seminar. Photocopy.
- Fryshman, Dr. Bernard. 1984. Civilization and the Jews: Jews without Heritage, 'Heritage' without Jews. *The Jewish Observer* (Sept.):8-11.
- Gilman, Sander L. 1985. *Jewish Self-Hatred*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Howe, Irving. 1989. American Jews and Israel. *Tikkun* 4(May/June): 71-7.
- Kammen, Michael. 1991. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Knopf.
- Kitman, Marvin. 1984. Lost in the Sands. *The New Leader* 17(Sept.): 21-2.
- Klagsbrun, Francine. 1984. TV, Abba Eban, and the Jews. *Congress Monthly* 51(Dec.):10-12.
- Kotlowitz, Robert. 1984. Robert Kotlowitz, WNET/New York's Editorial Council Head, Recalls Origins of *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*. WNET/New York Press Release, 5 Sept.
- Kroeber, A. L. 1963. *An Anthropologist Looks at History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marfleet, Phil, and R. Dergham. 1982. Israel's Other War. *Middle East* 94(Aug.):12-7.
- Miller, Mark Crispin. 1988. *Boxed In: The Culture of Television*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Morgenstein, Gary. 1984a. The Heritage Education and Outreach Programs. *Heritage Newsletter* 1(Jan.):4.
- . 1984b. *The Heritage Newsletter*. Heritage Newsletter 1(Jan.):1.
- . 1985. WNET/New York's *Heritage* is National and International Success Story. WNET/New York Press Release, 30 December.
- Newcomb, Horace M., and Paul M. Hirsch. 1983. Television as a Cultural Forum: Implications for Research. *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 8:3(Summer):45-56.
- Price, Sally. 1989. *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward. 1975. *Beginnings: Intention and Method*. New York: Basic Books.
- Said, Edward, and Christopher Hitchens, eds. 1988. *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestine Question*. London: Verso.
- Shohat, Ella. 1989. *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Sollors, Werner. 1986. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Michael Walzer. 1985. *Exodus and Revolution*. New York: Basic Books.
- Harry Waters. 1984. Telling and Untold Tale. *Newsweek* 104 (1 Oct.):73.

Debating the Portrayal of the Other as One of Us: Palestinians in the New Israeli Cinema

Tamar Liebes

In what follows I will describe the problems inherent in attempts to transform the image of the "other" by analyzing how the recent positioning of the Palestinian as hero in Israeli films has been received by Jewish and Palestinian film critics. My basic assumption is that a text does not have a single inherent meaning, which is recognized (or not) by the audience, but that different meanings of a literary, televisual or cinematic text are realized in the dialogic encounter between the cultural artifact, which represents the author's culture, and the reader (or, in this case, viewer), who carries the interpretative norms of his or her cultural community (Fish 1980, Hall 1985).

The "other" in communications research is a label used to describe social groups, ranging from an external enemy to a marginal, sometimes stigmatized, group within society, such as the homeless or the *Gästarbeiter*, or an apparently integrated group, such as women (Lengar 1992, van Dyke 1987, Williamson 1986). On the face of it, women and Palestinians in Israeli society seem to have very little in common. The Palestinian is the other in Israeli society because he is "invisible" and "does not belong." Women, on the other hand, are highly visible and belong, perhaps even too much. The Palestinian is the other because he is perceived as a category (e.g. as a "demographic problem") rather than as a person. Women are possibly perceived solely on the personal level, thus their position of social inferiority is seen as natural, not as the problem of a social group or a minority. On the individual level the Palestinian is regarded at best as a blurred figure seen through an opaque glass; at worst, on the evening television news, as an enemy—threatening, faceless and demonic. Nevertheless, attempts to "promote" the image of women on American television meet with the same kind of criticism. In both cases radical critics claim that the attempt to equalize is merely a neo-colonialist distortion of the true nature of the other, thereby serving the dominant elite.

Were there only one major source for images, my task would be easier, but there are several: films, TV and reality. There are also different types of "others." I have chosen to examine interpretations given by professional critics rather than by lay persons, first of all, because I am interested in the diffusion and social influence of cultural artifacts. While most of them pass by us without leaving an impression, some continue to reverberate and are institutionalized in one way or another—in museums, cinemas, the education system, even as part of "civil religion" (Schudson 1989). Second, critics are one kind of gatekeeper who filter cultural artifacts (Grissold 1987). As a "cultural elite," the community of film critics is regarded as ahead of its time, indicating trends in social ideas while they are still in their infancy.

Third, criticism constitutes an accessible text and represents an attempt at methodical thinking. Following Stewart Hall's analysis (1985), there is a greater chance of compatibility in encoding and decoding between filmmakers and critics than between the former and the general public—which in any case does not rush to see films such as *Cup Final*.

Until the late 1970s, the Palestinian in Israeli films was pushed aside, into the role of the unseen enemy of the Israelis. The subsequent "return of the oppressed," as Ella Shohat (1989) has called it, is a deliberate political attempt to present the enemy as a human being—perhaps our own alter ego—and to claim that both they and we are closely linked. Both sides are victims of the conflict, and the message emanating from newscasts—that they are bad dispositionally whereas we are bad situationally, and that we are in control of the situation—is misleading and dangerous (Liebes 1992).

In this context I examine critical reactions to the attempt to personalize the figure of the Palestinian, illustrating the critics' dialectical discourse by examining the reviews of two films—*Beyond the Walls*, made in 1984, which depicts understanding between Israelis and Palestinians as the only way of defeating the authorities governing the prison in which they find themselves, and *Cup Final*, made in 1991, directed by Eyal Riklis, where empathy is established between a Palestinian terrorist and an Israeli reserve soldier he captures on the basis of the shared culture of the "global village." In real life they belong to different sides, but as supporters of the same Italian football team they are on the same side. Whereas *Beyond the Walls* was a success with both the critics and the audience, *Cup Final* failed with both, for contradictory reasons.

It is my contention that critics, like filmmakers, are confused as to what should be discussed. Should they relate only to the portrayal of the character, or also to the choice of the actor who plays him? In the first case, should the director be required to create a character that is psychologically convincing, or should he be expected to expose the "real Palestinian?" In the latter case, if the choice of actor is also relevant, is it the physical type which counts (should his looks conform to or oppose the Palestinian stereotype) or the known political and national identity (as a collaborator, for example)?

Goffman's analysis (1975) of the confusion regarding the term "role" in reality and on the stage (in this instance, on the screen) helps to dispel some of this ambiguity. In real life an individual has an identity: it is continuous, it is his biography, his memory. He also has skills and specific functions which he utilizes in different situations. One can say that he is a good

plumber, a mediocre father, or a loyal friend. In his role as actor the same man appears as a person who is not "real," but who also has specific functions; we use the term "role" to refer to all four.

Actor Muhammad Bakhrī's identity, for example, comprises a body of skills and the following functions: familial—husband in a traditional society, where he is trying to come to terms with the demand for greater equality between the sexes, and father of five (*Ha'aretz*, 26 March 1992); national—a Palestinian who is also an Israeli citizen; professional—actor on the Israeli stage and in the Israeli cinema; as a free-lance actor, he works in the construction industry or sells vegetables when he is "resting" (*Disar Hashavua*, 4 April 92); and political—he has been a member of the Hadash (Communist) Party since 1988.

It is interesting to see how Bakhrī presents himself to the Israeli public. In the 1988 election campaign Bakhrī appeared in a short television commercial for Hadash, the Israeli Communist party.¹ The camera pans in from behind on the silhouette of the actor on a stage. He begins to recite a poem by Israel's national poet, Bialik, "Hail to thee upon thy return, O lovely bird," but in Hebrew with an Arabic accent. Every Israeli learns this poem at school. When he has finished the poem, Bakhrī turns to the audience and explains that it is not so strange that he knows the poem by heart. As an Israeli Arab he had to learn it at school. From being a symbol of renaissance Zionism, "To the Bird" thus becomes a symbol of the Jewish State's suppression of another people's cultural identity.² The camera pans in on Bakhrī's face until it fills the entire screen. This contrasts the image of the Arab as portrayed in the election broadcasts of the two main parties—demonic, faceless figures (Likud) and the abstract "demographic threat" (Alignment)—with his image as actor, Israeli citizen, head of a family and member of the Hadash party.

Bakhrī was chosen to appear in the election film for Hadash first of all because of his European appearance and "sex appeal," which make him "one of us." Second, because as an actor Israeli society accords him the same kind of legitimacy that it does to Arab football stars. And third, because he is identified with the noble, human Palestinian heroes whose characters he has portrayed in a number of Israeli films. In other words, the Bakhrī of the election broadcast is the antithesis of the masked Palestinian.

Bakhrī plays Palestinian leaders in both films. When he plays Isam (in *Beyond the Walls*) or Ziyad (in *Cup Final*) he creates a fictitious identity that we perceive through the characters he plays—as a security detainee or terrorist leader (or, if you prefer, freedom fighter) fighting for the national rights of the Palestinians, as husband and father (a family role), etc. What he does in real life, whether acting in films made by Barabash or Riklis, on the stage of the Haifa Theater, or in a solo performance, is working as an actor, and acting is only one of his roles. But, clearly, the various roles reflect on one another—for the actor himself, the director, the viewers, or the critics.

When reviewing the two films, the critics are aware of the fact that they are not functioning solely within the framework of their professional capacity as connoisseurs of art. Uri Klein states this explicitly in castigating *Cup Final*. He writes that he could

have focused on the film's aesthetic properties, its pace, editing or narrative, but that is not the point. The relevant position is an ideological one. In their role as political commentators, the critics refer, either alternately or indiscriminately, to Bakhrī the actor who personalizes "the other" in the conflict ("doing his thing again"), to Bakhrī the Israeli-Palestinian employed by Zionist Jewish directors, and to Bakhrī whose blue eyes make him the antithesis of the stereotypical Arab. In each of those three aspects he may be judged positively or negatively in political terms.

The fact that distinctions among roles are obscured in the production process (encoding) also helps to cloud decoding by critics and the audience. Directors do indeed choose Palestinian actors to portray Palestinian characters, in order to attain maximal authenticity. Choosing the same actor to play similar roles in different films made by different directors also makes a contribution. For their part, the Palestinian actors contribute to the identity between the actor and the character by taking part in decisions about what happens to the character they play, and their involvement is politically motivated.

Thus, we learn from Shohat that the ending which Barabash planned for *Beyond the Walls* shows Isam going home to his family, but Bakhrī rejected this, suggesting an alternative ending in which Isam goes out to his wife and little boy only to send them home without him. Barabash agreed to shoot the two versions, but soon realized how powerful Bakhrī's ending was. Bakhrī's justification for challenging Barabash's version was that he would not be able to look his (real-life) son in the eyes the morning after the screening of a film in which he appears as a man who abandoned his Palestinian friends in jail. Three identities—Bakhrī the actor (who found his own narrative solution to the story); Bakhrī the father (in real life), whose family role led him to suggest the solution; Bakhrī the political leader in the film's narrative, whose role is fictitious but which is identified by his real-life son as his real role—combined to produce an argument whose logic made sense to both Bakhrī and Barabash.

Obscuring the borders between an actor's real identity and the roles he plays on the screen, or stressing one identity at the expense of another, can also serve the critic's ideological ends. Israeli film critics' interpretations of Palestinian characters can be linked to their politics. Critics with moderate dovish views of the Israeli-Arab conflict may be considered as minimalists, or, perhaps, as romantics. For these critics the personalization of the Palestinian in films is a positive political act in itself. Another group of critics, with more radical dovish views, may be labeled as dialectical. Unlike the first kind, they treat the nature of the personalization more seriously, so that dialectically, whatever looks better is in fact worse.

It should not come as a surprise that two Palestinian critics, Emil Habibi (an Israeli Arab, winner of the Israel Prize for literature, 1992) and Raja Shehade (a West Bank resident, author of *The Third Way*), may be classified as minimalists. Neither of them belong to the narrow, elitist band of critics whose members write for one another, and their political interest is pragmatic.

Their reviews appeared in two popular Israeli papers, addressed to the general Jewish public. Habibi and Shehada regard the role of Palestinians in Israeli films—whether as actors or characters—as arousing the audience's empathy and emotional involvement, thereby helping to alter the way the Jewish public perceives the Palestinians.

For Habibi, the Palestinian characters in *Cup Final* contrast with "the character behind the mask" that official propaganda teaches the public to see as the real Palestinian. Shehada, on the other hand, criticizes the quality of the personalization in *Cup Final*. He claims that it is not effective because the Palestinians are removed from the context of their private lives, and cannot therefore arouse the audience's identification. If you are an Israeli you will not feel sorry when one of the Palestinians is killed. In Goffman's terms Shehada argues that because Israeli viewers cannot identify with Palestinian characters they retain their role of "onlookers" rather than enter into the role of "film-goers."

Other critics also accept the idea of presenting the Palestinian as an admirable human being, whether they define the film as political ("political in the good sense of the word") or anti-political ("we're all human beings, and the political conflict is stupid"). Nevertheless, Michal Peleg, who believes in the value of personalization, criticizes *Cup Final* not only for failing to give the Palestinian characters a private life, but for creating asymmetry between the Palestinians and Cohen, the captured Israeli. According to Peleg, the script gives more autobiographical background on Cohen; we learn that he owns a boutique in Tel Aviv, has a wife and two daughters, and supports the Likud. All this leads the viewer to identify with him and not with the Palestinians. This critic seems to me to be confusing our knowledge as Israeli viewers of Cohen as a recognizable Israeli type with what we learn about the character from the script. Ziyad also discloses information about himself—he studied pharmacology in Italy, he has a wife and child who are waiting for him to come back. From the Israeli viewpoint, however, it is enough for us to see the actor, Moshe Ivgy, to know who he is, and everything he says about himself is instantly applied to the Israeli reality with which we are familiar. Identifying with him as a human being is based on the evocation of other "Cohens" from real life—not so for Ziyad.

Ironically, one of the reasons for the absence of the Palestinians' private life from the screen is the attitude of real terrorists. They are not looking for that kind of identification from the viewers on the other side. From a newspaper interview we learn that Eyal Halfon, who wrote the screenplay of *Cup Final*, interviewed prisoners released in the Ahmed Gibril deal in order to attain maximal authenticity. The interviewees refused to reveal any personal details, restricting their replies to their political activities. In contrast with Habibi and Shehada's requirements, real-life Palestinian terrorists oppose personalization because it de-ideologizes the conflict and obfuscates the real forces in control of the field. Radical critics, such as Yair Hai, Ben-dror Yemini and Hadass Lahav, agree that the politics of force cannot be translated into the characters of individual terror-

ists. Ziyad and his friends are themselves hostages, rather than representing the bosses in the conflict. The dramatization of their lives merely diverts the discussion from the problem as a whole to details whose relevance can be assessed only when anchored in a wider political context.

The critics with more radical agendas analyze the authenticity of the image of the Palestinian in order to determine whether in political terms the film is a step forward or a false, illusory kind of progress that does more harm than good. The demand for authenticity is made on two levels, in both of which the same question—is it right to portray the Palestinian as being like us?—is asked. On one level, this refers to the character's external appearance (and whether it is desirable for a Palestinian actor to play a Palestinian), while on another it refers to the larger socio-political context. At its most extreme, this second level questions the legitimacy of the production—do Israelis have a moral right to make a film about the problems of Palestinians? The attempt to break physical stereotypes—by using a fair-haired, blue-eyed actor like Bakhri—has not gained the approval of the critics in Israel. The Palestinian hero who is "like us" is perceived as a stereotype in itself after two or three films. Worse, it is regarded as symbolically obliterating the identity of the Palestinian by granting him "our" identity, even if this is the identity of Jesus, as Ella Shohat contends.

Salman Mazlaha (*Kol Ha'ir*) goes even further by claiming that until Jews are cast as Palestinians, the prejudices prevalent in Israel will not be eliminated. The next step after choosing a European-looking Arab will be to cast a Jew (possibly a Sephardi) in the role, thereby breaking the connection between the actor's origin and the character he portrays. An attempt to achieve this was made by Bakhri and Tzadok when, in the *Beyond the Walls 2*, they re-enact the story of *Beyond the Walls 1*, reversing roles. Mazlaha's concern leads him to a conclusion that is the opposite of Habibi's. Mazlaha would like to see the Palestinian portrayed as a true "other" different from us, without falling into the trap of depicting the other as the enemy or the native servant, as was done in early Hollywood and Israeli films. Mazlaha would like to see a Palestinian who, despite his otherness, arouses sympathy and respect.

Another problem critics have with the change in the stereotype of the Palestinian is that there is no equivalent transformation of the character of the Mizrahi Jew who plays opposite him—Arnon Tzadok in *Beyond the Walls* and Moshe Ivgy in *Cup Final*. Barabash is attacked for this by both the radical left and the radical right. Ella Shohat claims that *Beyond the Walls* was made by Peace Nowniks who think they are making a political protest, but in fact are simply serving the ends of the establishment, which wishes to eliminate Palestinians and repress Mizrahi Jews. The film depicts Uri, the leader of the criminal prisoners, as if he is to blame for the fact that he has turned to crime. What does not come across is that he represents the problems of Mizrahi Jews, whose roots lie in the same social reality as that which created and perpetuates the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A *Ma'ariv* columnist from the extreme right protests that the

Mizrahi Jew is identified with crime in *Beyond the Walls*. As far as he is concerned, it is a film made by dangerous, left-wing, yuppie, bleeding-heart Ashkenazis who love Arabs and benefit from oppressing Mizrahi Jews. Thus, critics at both extremes of the political spectrum agree that the directors, either because they are either too left-wing or not left-wing enough, distort the character of the Mizrahi Israeli.

On the level of the socio-political context, radical critics regard creating Palestinians who are "one of us" as an act of cultural imperialism. The implicit message is that Palestinians deserve self-determination because they are like us—they are "all right" because they like football, too. Uri Klein's contention, with which the Israeli viewer may find it harder to identify, is that the Palestinians deserve national rights and must be respected even—especially—if they are not like us. By superimposing a familiar identity on them in order to bring them closer to Israeli viewers, Barabash and Riklis are symbolically eradicating Palestinian culture. The contention is that the attempt to bring them closer, to "tame" them, in fact co-opts their culture and prevents the viewer from recognizing and respecting their true identity.

Here we see the link with the feminist criticism of the way female characters are portrayed on television. Unlike those feminists who believe that there is a basic identity between the sexes which women did not have the chance to realize until now, some women critics believe that there is a unique female culture. They claim that presenting women as the equivalent of men deprives them of their authentic culture and nature. The most extreme version of this view with regard to the Palestinians is that voiced by the film and theater director, Yigal Burstein. He claims that the very fact that Israeli directors and producers take it upon themselves to depict the Palestinian is neo-colonialist. Ultimately, this serves the Israeli establishment, enabling it to congratulate itself for being so enlightened and self-critical—another variation of shooting and weeping. Only Palestinians, Burstein argues, have the right to present and represent themselves.

The way that Palestinians are represented in these two films can also be discussed in terms of occupation and competition. Within the context of the occupation of the territories (*Beyond the Walls*) and of Lebanon (*Cup Final*), both directors seek to create a situation of competition, where the position of the Palestinian hero is compared with that of the Israeli hero. For the romantic, minimalist critics the metaphor of the rivals who support the same football team represents an achievement. Focusing on a competitive framework points up the comparison between the opposing sides. There is no permanent victor in a competition; sometimes one side gains the upper hand, sometimes the other does. The rules of the game are the real winner (Dayan and Katz 1993). The metaphor of competition also creates a framework that can contain and control the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The interest they share puts the two rivals on the same side in the contest, creating empathy between them and arousing each one's admiration for the other's expertise.

The radical critics perceive this as a distortion, because it postulates the Palestinians as a genuine threat, an enemy on an equal footing. In the case of *Cup Final*, viewers do not forget that the I.D.F. has conquered Lebanon and that the equality between the two sides is only momentary. The comparison distorts the Palestinians, presenting them as the equivalent of Israelis, thereby depriving them of their culture and detaching them from their personal, family, and political context. Every terrorist is perceived as being both powerful and doomed to failure; consequently, the films merely re-establish the hegemony of the Israeli establishment.

The problem seems to be one of not throwing out the baby with the bathwater. The battle over the way women are portrayed on television began with the claim that they were not portrayed at all or were solely used as symbols. Once women began to be seen on prime time, that contention was superseded by the claim that they were represented in an inauthentic way—they were shown on the screen, but their true culture was falsified by putting them in a setting where they had to play according to men's rules.

The representation of Palestinians as human beings in the Israeli cinema is a step forward, in view of the fact that on television they are symbolically obliterated as human beings and portrayed as demonic. It can also be claimed that by removing them from familial and personal contexts they become more political. If the demand that Palestinians be depicted as different is justified, then returning to the point of departure is to be feared, because otherness on its own is simply not enough. What is needed is otherness that elicits empathy. But the inevitable conclusion is that whatever one does is bound to fail.

Notes

- 1 The effectiveness of this commercial may be inferred from the fact that its producer was later employed by one of the two major parties.
- 2 Ironically, the poem has gone through another transformation when the Palestinians adopted it as an expression of their national aspirations.

References

- Dayan, Daniel, and Elihu Katz. 1993. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Fish, Stanley E. 1980. *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1975. *Frame Analysis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Griswold, W. 1987. The Fabrication of Meaning: Literary Interpretation in the United States, Great Britain and the West Indies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92:1077-1117.

Hall, Stuart. Encoding and decoding. In *Culture, Media, Language*, eds. S. Hall et al., pp. 128-138. London: Hutchinson.

Iyengar, Shanto. 1992. *Framing Effects in Politics: Television and Political Responsibility*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Liebes, Tamar. 1992. Decoding Television News: The Political Discourse of Israeli Hawks and Doves. *Theory and Society*. 21:357-391.

Shohat, Ella. 1989. *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Schudson, Michael. 1989. *How Culture Works. Theory and Society* 21:357-381.

van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 1987. *Communicating Racism: Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*, chap. 6. Newbury Park: Sage.

Williamson, Judith. Woman Is an Island: Femininity and Colonization. In *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*, ed. Tania Modlesky, pp. 99-118. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

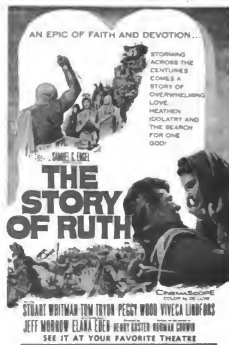
The Hollywood *Midrash*

Michael Paley

Hollywood adaptations of Biblical narratives raise one issue in particular—faithfulness to the text being represented. While critics often raise the question of faithfulness when discussing adaptations of novels, plays and short stories, this has a special urgency in relation to cinematic renderings of religious writings, where the issue deals distinctively with matters of religion and philosophy. Filmmakers, especially those working within the Hollywood studio system, have most often related Biblical narrative through the epic. This choice of genre also raises questions: Why do filmmakers select this genre as being especially appropriate to relating Bible stories? In particular, how does the epic genre enable filmmakers to present ideological interpretations of the Biblical text to their audience? How do filmmakers use the epic to make the Biblical text meaningful to modern audiences?

An epic film is easily identified by such features as exotic locations, enormous sets, a cast of thousands, large-scale actions (wars, rebellions, mass migrations, natural disasters) and heroic characterizations. The "larger-than-life" scale of the epic provides a powerful vehicle for expressing ideology through its legendary or mythological subject, making it particularly suited to the expression of religious and nationalistic ideas. A Biblical epic can impart to the viewer a sense of awe towards the narrative; a nationalistic epic can endow the people or country being represented a sense of power and magnitude.

The epic form served as an important medium for presenting new images of Jews to American audiences during the years after the Holocaust. As Erens (1984) and Friedman (1983) have observed, films about the establishment of the State of Israel, such as *Exodus* (1960) and *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1966), offered an image of the Jew transformed from passive to active, from weak to strong, from victim to hero. In addition to echoing this theme, Hollywood's Biblical epics also presented a different, perhaps less obvious, opportunity for American Jews to portray a redefinition of their own ethnic identity.



An interesting example is the Samuel G. Engel production of director Henry Koster's *The Story of Ruth*, released in 1960 by Twentieth Century-Fox. One of the shortest books in the Bible, as well as one of the most intimate, the Book of Ruth would seem to be an unlikely subject for an epic, a point not lost on the film's contemporary critics. Most of these reviewers discussed how screenwriter Norman Corwin embellished the original text with additional material. Bosley Crowther of the New York Times commented: "It should be apparent to anyone who has ever read the Biblical Book of Ruth that to get a screenplay from it a writer would have to do a lot of reading between the lines, then put his imagination to rather extensive use." (1960:12) Similarly, *America's* Moira Walsh, writes, "... the fictional details

invented.... to fill in the gaps in the narrative do less violence to the original than is frequently the case with movies based on Holy Writ." (1960:403)

Significantly, reviewers overlooked a reading of the material that "fills in the gaps" as a *midrash*, or commentary, on the original Biblical story. A *midrash* is often referred to as a legend or fable that "fills in" a Scriptural "gap." The use of a *midrash* can be clarified by examining the word's root—*derash*, which means to seek, investigate, or expound. A *derash* (or *drush* in the vernacular) is therefore an exposition (often—but not necessarily—through narrative) of Biblical verses that also offers moral, ethical and spiritual axioms. At times a *midrash* is as much a part of popular consciousness as the Biblical narrative itself. For example, many are familiar with the story of Abraham, who as a youth, smashed all of his father's idols, a story not found in Genesis, but in a *midrash*. There are numerous traditional works in which facets of Biblical texts are woven together with midrashic commentary into an almost seamless retelling of the narrative, such as the *Z'neh Ur'neh*, a popular Yiddish anthology of scriptural lore compiled by Yaakov ben Yitzhak Ashkenazi in the early seventeenth century.

Similarly, popular understandings of the Bible as fashioned by Hollywood and of the Biblical text itself are frequently indistinguishable. Indeed, it often seems that popular perceptions of the Bible have been shaped by its cinematic versions rather than vice versa. When many Americans think of Moses, for example, the image of Charlton Heston comes to mind, just as Victor Mature does when Samson is discussed. This raises a larger question: can the film adaptation of a Biblical story be seen as a *midrash* on the text it sets out to portray?

The idea of *The Story of Ruth* as *midrash* not only escaped its contemporary critics, but also eluded a more recent one. In his study of *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*, Lester Friedman characterizes the film as being without substance and demanding little more than passing attention (1983:197). This is, no doubt, due to his dismissal of the epic form as concentrating "on sprawling spectacles, cardboard characterization, and weak dramatic development. Jews generally appear as mere historical necessities and [the filmmakers] make no attempt to understand the Jewish religious or cultural heritage." (1983:146) I argue, however, that *The Story of Ruth* merits greater attention; a close reading of the film as a *midrash* reveals a good deal of depth in its cinematic portrait of the Jewish people.

After 1948, support of the State of Israel became a primary Jewish concern, especially for the American community. Prior to *The Story of Ruth*, postwar Biblical epic films tended to reflect this interest. Henry King's *David and Bathsheba* (1951), for example, opens with the title, "Three thousand years ago, David of Bethlehem ruled the United Tribes of Israel." This intimates that Jews were once again united, spiritually if not physically, by the modern State of Israel. William Wyler's *Ben Hur* (1959) also presents the Jews as a nation held together throughout the ages by a common history and land. As Patricia Erens notes in her study of *The Jew in American Cinema*, some critics did not fail to

"catch the significance" that Biblical epics had in light of contemporary political events in the Middle East. (1984:226)

The Story of Ruth offers a more complex Jewish self-portrait. This is illustrated by the opening credit sequence, which constitutes a *midrash* in itself. The titles are overlaid onto an image of a Torah scroll and shofar, two of the most common visual symbols of Jewish spirituality. This symbolizes the Jewish people's multi-dimensional identity. Not only is it linked to the Biblical land of Israel, where the film, like others of the genre, is set; here, the Jews are also identified as a religious people.

The attention to the religious aspect of Jewish life in *The Story of Ruth* resonates with the considerable growth of Jewish religious life in post-World War II America. As historians of the period generally observe, the major corporate movements of American Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative and Reform—all enjoyed an increase in synagogue affiliation at this time, while their yeshivas and seminaries were the site of an increased emphasis in traditional textual studies and religious observance. At the same time, Jewish nationalism proved a problematic subject for Hollywood in the wake of the Cold War and HUAC hearings, when many in the American Jewish community worried about being perceived as "un-American."

This context and the multifaceted Jewish self-portraiture in *The Story of Ruth* may explain the film's changes in the narrative of the original text. In the Biblical story, Naomi and her family leave Judea because of a famine and move to Moab. There, her two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, marry Ruth and Orpah, two Moabite women. After the death of Naomi's husband, as well as Mahlon and Chilion, the famine ends, and Naomi and Ruth return to Judea, while Orpah opts to stay in Moab. Whereas in the Bible Naomi and Ruth return of their own volition, in the film they are portrayed as fleeing for their lives because they are Jews—clearly a parallel to the settling of modern Israel following the Holocaust.

Like early Zionist pioneers who came to settle an uncultivated land, Naomi and Ruth encounter a land ravished by famine. Here, again, the film deviates from the Biblical narrative. In the original text, Naomi and Ruth return to Judea because the famine is over; in the film they bring the famine to an end with their return. Similarly, whereas Mahlon dies without incident (and of no specified cause) early on in the Book of Ruth, in the screen version he is martyred because of his commitment to Judaism at a point closer to the middle of the film—another example of how the epic genre expands the plot of the original text and privileges martyrdom in the name of religious freedom.

Another addition to the Biblical text that demonstrates the filmmakers' ideological agenda is found in the film's first half, which offers a history of Ruth's origins that does not appear in the Bible. As Chaim Ehrenreich, who reviewed the film for the *Jewish Daily Forward*, notes, "... thanks to Mr. Corwin's invented fantasy, Ruth was brought up in a [pagan] temple in Moab as a priestess to the idol Chemosh, which once a year is brought a sacrifice of a little ten-year old girl." (1960:6) The critic for *Time* magazine ascribes an arbitrariness to Corwin's invented storyline:

"The Bible says nothing about the origins of the young Moabite widow.... [so] no one can disprove the Scriptures according to Fox, which make her a neophyte priestess of Chemosh, the child-devouring stone divinity." (Cinema 1960:51) However, these opening scenes constitute another *midrash*, one which makes an explicitly moral statement contrasting the idol-worship of the Moabites with the ethical monotheism of the Jews. As a modern-day *midrash*, *The Story of Ruth* not only represents Judaism as a viable moral system going back to ancient times, but also portrays Jews as the bearers of this tradition through the present.

The contrast between the *midrash* presented by the film and traditional *midrash* on the Biblical text is striking. According to Rashi, Ruth was a princess—the daughter of Eglon, king of Moab—and there is no mention of her involvement in child sacrifice. The traditional commentary implies that Naomi's family must have been one of great importance to marry into royalty.¹ This, too, provides a moral statement, but one very different than the film's. As a distinguished family of *parnasim* (financial and spiritual leaders), they forsook their national responsibility when a crisis—i.e., the famine—arose by fleeing to Moab.²

The Story of Ruth also demonstrates the value of Judaic theology through scenes of philosophical discussion. At one point in the film Ruth belittles the concept of a god that one cannot see. She is parried, however, by Mahlon, who asks her how she worships Chemosh when the idol is not near. "One thinks about him," retorts Ruth. Mahlon points out that Chemosh is invisible at the time of worship, just as the Jewish G-d is invisible all the time, yet present. In fact, it is G-d's invisibility that causes Ruth's nursemaid to remark that this concept "makes it convenient for carrying Him with you, does it not?" Thus, the film implies that religious devotion, rather than nationalism, is the key to Jewish survival in the Diaspora.

The interest of the makers of *The Story of Ruth* in religious sources and issues is also manifest in a curious detail that appears in the latter half of the film. There we learn that the name of Boaz's rival is Tob, in accordance with the traditional midrashic rendering of his name. The Book of Ruth never actually mentions anyone of that name. But when Boaz informs Ruth that there is a potential redeemer of Naomi's property who is closer in the family line than he, the verse (3:13) reads as follows: "*im yigalech, tov, yigal*." This translates as "if he will redeem, good—let him redeem." The midrashic reading states that this verse is an oblique way of revealing the redeemer's name (who eventually did not want to redeem) without putting him to shame. It would therefore be read as "If Tob will redeem, let him redeem."

This indicates that the filmmakers must have had access to some of the traditional Jewish commentaries on the Biblical story.³ In light of this, it is significant that the second half of *The Story of Ruth* departs from both the original text and its traditional midrashic readings. For instance, Jewish tradition maintains that Boaz was an old man, a national leader, learned and modest, whose was destined to be the progenitor of the Davidic dynasty (at the end of the Book of Ruth, Boaz is named as the great-grandfather of David). In *The Story of Ruth*, however,

Boaz is young, charming and strong. The film's reviewer for the *Jewish Daily Forward* comments, not without a trace of sarcasm: "When I learned about Ruth in my childhood years, I got the impression that Boaz, while not an old man, is also no young fellow. In the film... Boaz turns out to be a young nobleman, who rides a horse like a real cowboy, heroic and proficient." (Ehrenreich 1960:6) While embracing a religious and ethnic definition of the Jewish people, the film also presents its leading male character as an archetype of the new Israeli—which, in turn, conforms with epic film conventions of portraying heroes as handsome, romantic, strong, and taking control of their own destiny. Thus, the film suggests that the Jewish people can "have it all"—national unity, physical strength, moral and spiritual vitality, and at the same time be good lovers.

It is therefore also interesting that *The Story of Ruth* presents Tob as blackmailing Ruth into marrying him through the law of levirate marriage, creating a romantic rivalry between him and Boaz. In fact, in the original text, Naomi's field is to be redeemed, not Ruth. While it is true that in ancient times relatives other than the brother (should there be no brother) of a deceased man who left no children may have married his widow to carry on the family name, there was certainly no Scriptural obligation. When Ruth makes the stipulation that whoever redeems the field must marry her as well, Ruth is going above the letter of the Law in order to have children and preserve the name and memory of Mahlon; she is not acting out of requirement. The film, however, presents the situation as a levirate marriage. Whether this is a misreading of the Biblical text or an ideological change is unclear.

The filmmakers may well have confused the act of the removing a shoe at the end of the Book of Ruth with *haliza*, a ritual in which a widow removes a shoe from her late husband's brother, who has refused to perform levirate marriage, thereby releasing him from that obligation. In the Book of Ruth the removal of the shoe is a form of *kinyan*, or a sign of acquisition of property, and not *haliza*. This is substantiated by the statement: "Formerly this was done in Israel in cases of redemption and exchange transactions: one would draw off his shoe, and give it to the other. This was the process of ratification in Israel." (4:7) Indeed, in the Biblical text Ruth does not remove one of the men's shoes, but he removes his own shoe. While the film's change in this part of the text may simply be part of the Hollywood convention of injecting romance into stories of all kinds, the rivalry between Boaz and Tob also idealizes the Jewish people as heroic and passionate.

The Story of Ruth demonstrates how a film can reflect contemporary Jewish concerns, as well as how the medium can be used by Jews working in Hollywood as a vehicle for presenting themselves to the general American public. As with any film, this is in part a result of a dynamic relationship involving the time in which it is produced, the means of production (production company, writer, director, releasing studio, advocacy groups, etc.), and the potential viewer. What distinguishes this self-portrait is that it is not set in contemporary America, but in ancient times, and appears to be a retelling of an ancient tale.

Yet, as the preceding analysis demonstrates, this cinematic retelling of the Biblical story speaks to issues of special interest to contemporary American Jews. As such, a production like *The Story of Ruth* is not simply an adaptation of Biblical Jewish literature for another medium, but approaches the status of commentary. Those who may not consider it to be a legitimate *midrash* on the actual text might well regard it as a *midrash* on contemporary Jewish society.

Notes

- 1 According to Rashi's commentary on *Megillat Ruth* (1:2): although Rashi drew on many earlier midrashic sources in his commentaries on the Bible and Babylonian Talmud, no source is given here.
- 2 Based on *Midrash Ruth Rabba* (1:1).
- 3 This would not be the only instance of traditional *midrashim* as a source for a Hollywood epic; in Cecil B. DeMille's 1956 version of *The Ten Commandments*, the opening credits mention "The Midrash" as one of the films sources.

Broadcast Ghetto: The Image of Jews on Mainstream American Radio

Henry Sapoznik

There is no doubt that Jews figure prominently in the development of American radio broadcasting, as the names of network architects David Sarnoff and William Paley and performers Al Jolson, Fanny Brice, Eddie Cantor, Jack Benny, George Burns and Walter Winchell demonstrate. American radio was also populated with an array of Jewish characters, from the Goldberg family in Gertrude Berg's long-running series to an assortment of comic sidekicks and kindly sages, as well as figures whose stories reflected the role of Jews in world current events. Yet what is less clear is how radio's Jewish pioneers related to their Jewishness; how, if at all, this figured in their work in the medium, and what was the relationship between radio's Jewish characters and the people—both Jews and non-Jews—who created them. As differences between the leaders of CBS and NBC demonstrate, there was anything but a consistent sense of Jewish identity among the Jews who worked in American radio. Paley's biographer writes that the head of CBS "was put off by Sarnoff's more obvious identification as a Jew, and Sarnoff was irritated by Paley's WASP pretensions." (Smith 1990:146)

Jews were an on-air presence in American radio from its beginning in the mid-1920s, both as performers and as dramatic characters. Mainstream network radio programs presented an

References

- Cinema. 1960. *Time* (4 July):51.
- Crowther, Bosley. 1960. Screen: "Story of Ruth." *New York Times* (18 June):12.
- Ehrenreich, Chaim. 1960. The Story of "Ruth" as a Movie at the Paramount Theater [Yiddish]. *Jewish Daily Forward* (17 June):6.
- Erens, Patricia. 1984. *The Jew in American Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Friedman, Lester. 1983. *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Walsh, Moira. 1960. Films. *America* (25 June):403.

array of Jewish "types" that were already familiar to the overwhelmingly non-Jewish audience, having been developed in the pages of satirical magazines like *Puck*, in the comic routines of variety artists such as the Avon Comedy Four, and in silent movies such as Thomas Edison's 1907 one-reeler "Cohen's Fire Sale." But whereas magazines, silent film and vaudeville relied extensively, sometimes primarily, on visual markers to distinguish various ethnic types, radio depended solely on aural indicators. Unable to represent costume, gesture, or archetypal racial physical features, the medium used "funny" names (both real and pseudo-ethnic) and "funny" speech—mangled grammar, inverted syntax, malapropisms, and, above all, the conventions of dialect—to establish a character's ethnicity.

Like African-American, Irish, Italian, Greek and other ethnic characters, Jews were presented as outside of the American cultural mainstream, whether appearing as comic figures on variety shows or as philosophically wise members of the petty bourgeoisie on serial dramas. This is clearly articulated in Lewis Herman's and Marguerite Shallet Herman's 1943 *Manual of Foreign Dialects for Radio, Stage and Screen*. Despite Garson Kanin's assertion, in his introduction to this volume, that "superficial theatrical clichés must be abruptly discarded; too often they

tend to ridicule rather than represent," those with "foreign" accents are identified by the Hermans as a series of culturally alien types. Their book not only provides examples of accent and inflection, but also links dialect features to social or psychological characteristics of the culture. For example, the manual explains the traits of the humorous Jewish character found on most comedies shows: "The pitch of Yiddish is much higher than in American [English] and the falsetto is reached many times, especially under the stress of emotion. That is why the Yiddish dialect should have a wide pitch range which reaches almost incredibly, squeaking peaks." (393) The Hermans also describe the sentimental or familial Jewish type: "The Yiddish husband is primarily a good family man. The Jew rarely drinks liquor... [yet,] in spite of the lack of this usual method of conviviality he is warm hearted and quick to make friends." (392)

There were over three dozen radio shows aired on mainstream American radio between 1925 and 1956 that featured Jewish characters; the great majority of these programs started or were produced or written by Jews. Despite this involvement by Jews in their production and performance, Jewish characters were, for the most part, little more than one-dimensional types as illustrated in the *Manual of Foreign Dialects*. Though the Hermans mention the difference between "Litvaks" and "Galitzianers" in their manual, their portrait of Jewish comic types is that of American stage, screen and airwaves, rather than the range of *tipn* that then flourished in Yiddish folklore, literature, stage or radio drama.

While Jewish stars of American radio's comedy series often obscured their ethnic identities, they were often accompanied by comic foil characters who embodied comical Jewish or other ethnic types. For example, when Eddie Cantor (*not* Isidore Izkowitz) premiered the *Eddie Cantor Show* on NBC in 1931, he brought with him the naïve, moon-eyed persona that he had perfected on the vaudeville and Broadway stage. Over the years, Cantor had subtly obscured his immigrant Jewish origins; his persona's accent was understood as East Side, not East European. Cantor's malapropistic sidekick was Parkyakarkus, a "Greek" character played by the Jewish comedian Harry Einstein. Though Benny Kubelsky was Jewish, Jack Benny, as he was known to radio audiences, wasn't overtly identified as Jew, despite his well-known "Jewish" trait of parsimony. However, Benny's show (1932-1955) did contain identifiably Jewish characters, replete with thick accents and improbable names like Mr. Kitzel (Artie Auerbach) and Shlepperman (Sam Hearn); these were augmented by the occasional portrayals of Jewish characters by Mel Blanc. *The Fred Allen Show* (1932-1949) debuted the season after Jack Benny's program was first aired. By 1945, the stable of characters on "Allen's Alley" included typical, outlandishly named, malaprop-spouting Jewish types. Minerva Pious played Mrs. Pansy Nussbaum (who was familiar to audiences by her catch phrase, "Mine husband, Pierre"), co-starring with Irwin Delmore as Mr. Pinkbaum. At first, some executives at CBS were worried about Delmore's thick Jewish accent offending listeners, but at Allen's insistence, the character and his accent remained until the end of the show's run in 1949 (Dunning 1976).

Other comedy programs featured humorous Jewish characters, identified not only by dialect, but also by humorous ethnic (sometimes mock-ethnic) names, and maladroitness with language or behavior. *Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten* (NBC Blue, 1932), a children's show, featured a thickly accented, clumsy (both linguistically and physically) character Izzy Finklestein (Johnny Wolf), while the cast of *Houseboat Hannah* (Mutual, 1937) included other comically accented Finklesteins—Abe (Henry Saxe) and Becky (Margaret Shallet), whose names echo the vaudeville stage names of Ada Jones and Billy Murray (known as "The Original Cohens").

Though dialect and other markers were used to signal a particular ethnic group, they were also understood as something that anyone could imitate and reproduce. Thus, Irish-American actor J. Carroll Naish starred as the title character in the CBS's *Life With Luigi* (1948-1953), a situation comedy about an Italian-American family written by Cy Howard, a Jew. The show's Jewish character, Horowitz, was played with a broad Yiddish accent by Italian-American actor Joe Forte.

On soap operas a different kind of Jewish character flourished. There, Jews figured as kindly sages, dispensing optimistic advice—for example, Uncle David Solomon, as portrayed by Ralph Locke on the long-running serial *Life Can Be Beautiful* (1938-1954). No malapropisms here; instead, this gentle, Jewish proprietor of "The Slightly Read Bookstore"—the wise representative of the "People of the Book"—offered both characters and listeners sage observations on life, delivered in a slightly accented voice. Identifiable Jewish characters on mainstream American radio were not romantic leads, heroes or adventurers, nor were they doctors, lawyers or professionals. And, except for the short-lived NBC comedy *Cohen and the Detective* (1943) and an episode from the NBC series *Dr. Six-Gun* in the early 1950s entitled "Duel on Yom Kippur," Jews never fought crime. Even as second-generation American Jews were starting to make inroads into the professional, upper middle class, their radio counterparts remained, for the most part, fixed in a (slowly) rising working and lower middle class.

Of all the shows on network radio featuring Jewish characters, *The Goldbergs* (originally *The Rise of the Goldbergs*; 1929-1946, NBC Blue) remains perhaps the best known. In her autobiography *Molly and Me*, Gertrude Berg—creator, writer, producer and star of the series—attributes the program's genial portrayals of a Bronx Jewish family and their neighbors to her family's background as hoteliers. Ever hospitable and accommodating, they strove above all else never to offend their guests. (No doubt her background also inspired her to write and star in NBC's 1935 radio series *House of Glas*, which was set in a Jewish resort hotel.) Berg's gently comical characterizations of Jews seem to be intended to appeal to a non-Jewish audience who, while perhaps not willing to have real Jews in their neighborhood, wouldn't object to the Goldbergs' brief, on-air visits in their living rooms.

Berg had an acute sense of what would be successful with the American radio audience; as one of the few women producers in the medium, she also produced such successful non-Jewish shows

as *Kate Hopkins*, *Angel of Mercy* (CBS, 1940) and helped launch Fanny Brice's comeback as the bratty Baby Snooks on *Ziegfeld Follies of the Air* (CBS, 1936). Berg only occasionally incorporated distinctively Jewish elements in her shows. These were usually set pieces, such as Jan Peerce singing "Kol Nidre" for an episode of *The Goldbergs* set during the High Holidays. As a result, some Yiddish radio professionals, such as veteran actress Lillian Lux, derided the series for offering "one-dimensional and cheap characterizations" of Jews (Sapoznik and Lanser, 1992). Indeed, Yiddish radio's dramatic programming, which was rooted in immigrant Jewish language and culture, offered a much wider spectrum of Jewish characters and showed Jews in a greater variety of dramatic situations.

Yiddish radio not only catered to a different listenership than that of mainstream American radio; few of America's Yiddish radio actors made a successful transition to English-language radio. Other than Joseph Buloff's short-lived role as Barney Glass on *House of Glass*, the most successful crossover artist was Menashe Skulnik, who appeared as Uncle David on *The Goldbergs* and as Mr. Cohen, father of the protagonist in *Abie's Irish Rose* (1942-1944) in the 1940s. Yiddish theater and film star Molly Picon—whose first language was English—never made a similar transition, although in later years she appeared frequently in English-language films and on American television. Picon did have a variety show on a major local station, New York's WMGM, on which she performed in both Yiddish and English.

Radio dramas that dealt with contemporary events, especially those taking place overseas, provided the opportunity for offering other types of Jewish characters to American listeners. Following the rise of Fascism and the appearance in America of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany, a number of radio dramas depicted the plight of European Jewry or dealt more generally with the issue of anti-Semitism. CBS's *Columbia Workshop* presented Yiddish actor Frank Lovejoy in "Mr. Cohen Takes a Walk" (1939), a play about a kind, humble Jewish merchant who secretly helps his antisemitic neighbor in trouble. In 1941 novelist Edna Ferber penned a radio drama entitled "A Cable from Lisbon," which takes the form of a letter written by a Polish Jewish refugee in a prison hospital. Actor Frederic March starred in the 1943 drama "The Line Moves Slowly"; sponsored by the Joint Distribution Committee, it, too, describes the suffering of refugees in Europe. The adventure series *Passport for Adams* (syndicated, 1934) featured an episode set in Tel Aviv that portrayed brave Palestinian Jews fighting Hitler. These few dramatic presentations stood in stark contrast to the dearth of news reportage on English-language radio about the Nazi persecution of European Jews.

American radio continued to deal with these issues during the postwar years, offering numerous appeals on behalf of Jewish DPs. From 1948 to the mid-1950s radio shows sponsored by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), United Service for New Americans (USNA), the Citizen's Committee for Refugees (CCR) and the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) engaged both the refugees themselves and major stars of film and radio—

including Frank Sinatra, Basil Rathbone, Henry Fonda, Dick Powell, Tallulah Bankhead—to solicit support for these stateless victims. USNA also sponsored numerous dramatic shows that attempted to illustrate the plight of refugees. For example, in 1947 New York's WMCA broadcast "Escape From a Dream," starring Richard Widmark, which was described by the show's announcer as "a suspenseful journey through the subconscious of a Displaced Person." In 1948 New York's WNYC presented "My Town: Refugees," which starred Ed Begley as a small-town resident who is ambivalent about the arrival of a Displaced Person in the community. These shows always ended with an appeal for support by a member of USNA's administration. The establishment of the State of Israel presented still another opportunity for radio to offer portraits of a dramatically different type of Jewish character. "The Wastelands," a 1950s drama aired on WOR featuring Ralph Bellamy as a farmer who journeys to the Negev "to make the desert bloom," was only one of scores of programs that offered American audiences a portrait of a new Jewish type—the *halutz*.

The 1950s witnessed a decline in both ethnic comedy and American radio drama, which disappeared with the advent of television. While a number of radio shows featuring Jewish characters attempted to make the leap to television, few were successful. In general, the portrayal of ethnics proved more problematic on television than radio, as the short-lived history of *Amos 'n' Andy* (CBS, 1951-1953) on this medium testifies. When Jack Benny's show moved to CBS television in 1950, the roles of Mr. Kitzel and Schlepperman were dropped. Even *The Goldbergs* enjoyed only a relatively short run on television (CBS/NBC/Dumont, 1949-1954). The new medium and the very different place of ethnicity during the Cold War brought an end to an era in which a whole generation of Jewish characters were introduced into homes across America via the airwaves.

References

- Dunning, John. 1976. *Tune In Yesterday: The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Old Time Radio 1945-1948*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Herman, Lewis, and Marguerite Shallet Herman. 1943. *Manual of Foreign Dialects for Radio, Stage and Screen*. New York: Ziff-Davis.
- Sapoznik, Henry, and Andy Lanser. 1992. Interview with Lillian Lux. New York.
- Smith, Sally Bedel. 1990. *In All His Glory: The Life of William S. Paley*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

"A yingl mit a yingl hot epes a tam": The Celluloid Closet of Yiddish Film

Eve Siclar

In Yiddish film, as with Hollywood and most world cinema of the interwar years, the taboo surrounding homosexuality meant that the subject was kept almost completely under cover. Sexuality in general was a restricted topic, and sexual "deviance" was off-limits. In the context of Yiddish film, this was even more true than in contemporary Yiddish literature or theater.¹ Yet homosexuality managed to reach the screen in various guises, potentially discernible to a range of spectators from the contemporary Yiddish audience. The forms and traces which emanated, however obliquely, from what film historian Vito Russo called the "celluloid closet" (Russo 1981) revealed more than the covert acknowledgement of a forbidden subject, or even than the boundary markers of prevailing sociocultural norms and discomfort zones. In the case of Yiddish films containing such taboo material, distinctly Jewish concerns of the time were intertwined with allusions to this highly charged but officially unrecognized theme. However obscured or encoded, homosexuality seems to have been too intriguing to be left entirely out of the picture.

Intriguing, too, is the question of whether these references were deliberately encoded by film authors or makers, and if so, why and for whom? There is currently a resurgence of interest in Yiddish film, which has culminated recently in a major series of screenings co-sponsored by the National Center for Jewish Film at Brandeis University and New York's Museum of Modern Art, and the publication of J. Hoberman's survey of Yiddish film history (1991). Viewers today often respond to these films very differently than did their original audiences. The very spectacle of worlds now "lost," either through the ravages of the Holocaust or the changes in American Jewish life, often evokes pathos and fascination today in ways that could scarcely have been intended or perceived before World War II. Such responses are, of course, understandable, as changing historical perspectives give new meanings to cultural artifacts. But close examination of homosexuality—albeit "closeted"—in various Yiddish films reveals patterns of acknowledgement of its presence that seem unlikely to have been inadvertent or completely unconscious. We may never know how, or how widely, Yiddish filmmakers in the 1930s and '40s received these encoded signals. Certain references to homosexuality may have been apparent only to cognoscenti, while other allusions let almost everyone in on the secret (meaning, often, that they were let in on the joke as well.) Yet no matter how hidden or derisive the gay subtext—as manifest through wordplay, subplot, characterization, or other encoded reference—might be, the fact that it was and is there for the reading represents an important example of a mass medium finding safe means to raise a dangerous topic.



Molly Picon in drag, here for the stage production of *Bublikski*, New York, 1937. Courtesy YIVO Archives.

To a considerable extent, the treatment of homosexuality in Yiddish film differed little from Hollywood's, especially during the years after the establishment of the Hays Office production code² and before the start of the ratings system, which coincided with the advent of lesbian/gay liberation. As Russo noted of mainstream American movies of that period, "Technically, homosexuals were just as invisible onscreen as they were in real life. They continued to emerge, however, as subtextual phantoms representing the very fear of homosexuality." (Russo 1981:63) To reinforce the taboo surrounding "queerness," unwritten rules demanded that, even as subtext, these situations be subject to resolution by the final reel through means as predictable in Yiddish filmmaking as they were in the American industry. In strikingly high proportions, characters shown, albeit implicitly, to be associated with such stigmatized tendencies as homosexuality faced one of two fates: either to be cured or killed.³

Unique to the gay subtexts in Yiddish films is the way fear of homosexuality is linked with other deep anxieties and perceived threats in modern Jewish life: assimilation, intermarriage, and the negative image of the *goles yid* (Diaspora Jew). By examining the refraction of these elements, one can better understand the lenses through which they were viewed and projected. Yiddish films present their gay (or, much less often, lesbian) subtexts variously as (1) a running innuendo submerged in less risqué romantic overtones, as in the comedies *Yidl mitn fidl*

(Yidl with his Fiddle, 1936) and *Amerikaner shadkhn* (American Matchmaker, 1940); or as (2) an element of the plots of prologues that heighten later tragic consequences, as in dramas *Der vilner shoy-khazn* (The Vilna City Cantor, also known as *Der vilner balebed, Overture to Glory and Melodies of Two Worlds*, 1940) and *Der dibek* (The Dybbuk, 1937).

All of these titles were released between 1936 and 1940, a period of mounting anxiety for the Jews of Europe and America. This heightened sense of vulnerability had its impact in contemporary Yiddish culture. Not surprisingly, a number of Yiddish films made at this time reflect concerns over Jewish survival and antisemitism; in several cases these themes are linked with some version of the "threat" of homosexuality.

Another issue that Jewish filmmakers explored during this period was the discord between the traditional world that they associated with their forebears and the modern one in which they had come of age. The challenge of integrating seemingly conflicting aspects of one's identity appears in many films, Yiddish and otherwise, in which a character leads a double life, for example *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), *Queen Christina* (1933), and *I Was A Communist for the F.B.I.* (1951). Similarly, the theme of Jews leading hidden lives while "passing" in the dominant culture is, of course, an important motif in modern Western literature. The fact that, in the latter half of the turbulent 1930s, an alternate reading of this theme, with a gay element, appears in a number of Yiddish films, suggests a growing, if uneasy, acknowledgment of sexuality in its many forms on the part of modern Yiddish popular culture.

The most elaborate instance of gay subtext in Yiddish film appears in *Yidl mitn fiddl*. Molly Picon stars as Yidl, a girl disguised in boys' clothing so that she can safely find work as an itinerant *klezmer* with her widowed father. Some of Picon's best-loved theater vehicles featured her cross-dressed, a routine that led one reviewer to dub her the "Yiddish Peter Pan." While the popularity and acceptability of such drag performance might harken back to the traditional *purimshpil*, there are important differences: the male-to-female transformation has been inverted; the performances are decidedly secular and take place throughout the year.⁴ Picon had played a rambunctious tomboy earlier on screen in Sidney Goldin's *East and West* (East and West, 1923). But the transvestitism of *Yidl mitn fiddl* is not the transgressive element it had been in Goldin's picture, in which Picon's antics figure as part of a broader antinostalgic challenge to Old World tradition (Shandler 1992). In *Yidl mitn fiddl*—a romantic musical comedy scripted in the shadow of the Third Reich—Picon portrays a nice Jewish "girl-next-door" who dons drag only for the sake of staying together with her widowed father. The character she plays is established as both modest and appealingly feminine, at least while she is wearing a dress. In the film's opening sequence, she cleverly evades the overtures of a strange man who sees her busking in the marketplace. Still, as a girl performing in public, she is the focus of comments by other Jewish women who fret about the risks to her reputation, and would be even moreso when going on the road to make music with her father. Thus

here, her switch to men's clothing is actually anti-transgressive, a socially sanctioned version of otherwise proscribed behavior, and even one with historical precedent. The practice of European Jewish women disguising their gender while traveling to protect their modesty was a custom accepted by various communities well before the 20th century (Abrahams 1896:274-5). While Yidl's audience could retain some thrill of witnessing a naughty prank, Picon's "trouser role" afforded them the vicarious, guilt-free pleasure of watching what would otherwise have been the shocking spectacle of a nice Jewish girl roving around Poland with a band of *klezmerim*.

Picon's cross-dressing is also made "safe" as her character experiences "normal"—i.e., demonstrably heterosexual—feelings and frustrations. One symbolically turgid dream sequence resolves as Yidl's fantasy embrace of the boy she loves fades to a shot of her, asleep on the barn floor, snuggling closer to a farmhouse kitten (a recurring emblem of Picon's innocence⁵), while the boy of her dreams slumbers on unknowingly a few feet away. Herein lies the premise for the film's major gay subtext: rather than, say, letting Picon's character explore dangerous sexual realms afforded by male privilege (à la Bashevis's Yentl), Yidl's mistaken identity allows for decidedly unthreatening opportunities to bring up the subject of homosexuality obliquely, since audiences are secure in knowing that their heroine's desires are actually of the "right" kind. The film is full of jokes rooted in gender confusion; lines such as "Be a man, Yidl!" abound. Some gender adventuring does occur when Yidl gets to drink at a tavern as one of the boys. "Shiker" (Drunk), a musical number set in the tavern, gives Picon the vehicle for her ever-popular tipsy gamin routine. Later, for one brief moment Yidl seems to take the adventure too far by showing interest in another woman. Yet as the dialogue swiftly reveals, her only interest in the other woman's attractiveness concerns her appeal, as a rival, to a man.

Another level of subtextual reference revolves around the object of Yidl's attraction. Conspicuously tall, handsome and athletically built, Froim (played by Leon Leibgold) is constructed as a model of Jewish masculinity, in stark contrast to the comically effeminate, nervously excitable Yidl (whose name means "little Jew"). Froim's clean-cut, clean-shaven character also provides sharp contrast with that of his disreputable, grizzled music partner, Isaac, a compulsive liar who hints at his own sexual "deviance" (though it is masturbation, not effeminacy) while mocking Froim's popularity with girls.⁶ Froim embodies the ideals of the *Muskelfudentum* movement, which repudiated prevailing stereotypes of Jews as weak, degenerate neurotics, while valorizing virile Jewish sportsmen and farmers.⁷ In body, in mind, and even in skills, Froim exemplifies the New Jewish Man. In this juxtaposition, Yidl and Isaac represent the old ways that Jews were meant to cast off, including, in Yidl's case, suspicious effeminacy.

Producer-director Joseph Green seems to have been clearly conscious of these associations. Shortly after *Yidl mitn fiddl* opened and proved a huge hit, Green told an interviewer that when making successful Yiddish films, one "must avoid the 'goles

yid.' (as cited in Hoberman 1991:239) In this film, Green's objective seems to have been to counter or transform such stereotypes; in doing so, he alludes to the subject of homosexuality throughout the movie—arguably more references than appear in any other Yiddish film. Thus, in one scene, Froim lectures Yidl for being too girlish while occupying himself with driving nails, thereby demonstrating his ability to do carpentry—a definitively “manly” profession—as well as play the violin. And Froim’s hammer-wielding assaults yet another myth of the Diaspora Jew: as a Jewish man who can do productive, “masculine” work with his hands, he is outdone only by Yosel the electrician, the ultimate male catch in this film, whose trade is all these things as well as thoroughly modern.

Much of the gay subtext that runs through *Yidl mitn fiddl* is articulated visually, often in the form of something that is literally cast off. For example, in one scene, Froim carries Yidl in his arms after saving him/her from nearly drowning, only to suddenly drop Yidl back in the water when (s)he reaches up to embrace him. This visual gag is echoed in a cut-away scene during the film’s denouement, set in a Warsaw theater, where an impresario and his investor are watching from the wings as Yidl makes their show a hit. Both men are completely entranced by her performance until the producer notices, in a horrified double-take, that the delighted backer’s arm is around his neck; in a disgusted gesture mirroring Froim’s at the lake, he undraps the offending hand from his shoulder.

On-stage, meanwhile, jokes about gender confusion find their voice. In Yidl’s stage triumph, she appears in a dress (a signal that she has been “cured” of her “queerness”) and speaks directly to the audience about the drawbacks of her gender-bending escapades. Summing up the comedic thrust of the plot, she says, “A yingl mit a yingl hot epos a tam?” asking if there might be an explanation for same-sex attraction. The English subtitle for this line—“A man with a man? It just doesn’t make sense”—not only makes boys into men, but answers a rhetorical, if open-ended, question in the Yiddish original. The implied answer is that, while such things may occur, they are “off-color” or in strange taste. (The alternate meaning of *tam* as “taste” seems to add another level of innuendo here.)

The latent possibilities of actual homosexual tastes run throughout *Amerikaner shadkhn*, in which distinct ambivalence to the opposite sex is a prominent theme. Dapper Central Park West bachelor Nat Silver (played by Leo Fuchs, the “Yiddish Fred Astaire”) has a remarkable record with women: seven engagements, all called off. His sister Elvie, who runs around in jodhpurs, says she’d like a dowry, but “keep the groom in a vault.” In the opening scene, Nat entertains at his latest stag party with a downright hostile song about ugly old brides. When the other men at the bachelor soirée scold Nat (in Yiddish) for still being “singler than a finger” and demand an end to his all-male parties, he looks distinctly uncomfortable. Later, while claiming his latest match will surely work out, he reflects, “Maybe I lack that certain something—spunk—nerve. A person must analyze himself very carefully.”

Soon thereafter, a rather telling piece of family background surfaces. According to his mother, Nat and his troubles bear a striking resemblance to an Old World uncle, whose skeleton the family would apparently prefer to keep in the closet. It takes a crisis (Nat’s eighth canceled wedding) to precipitate Nat’s mother’s disclosure of the story of Uncle Shya—and only after she insists Elvie leave the room. “It runs in the family,” she says meaningfully of the likeness between her son and Shya. From the uncle’s inability to find himself a wife, she continues, one might have thought something was wrong with him: “But no! He was healthy, strong, handsome....”

Perhaps it is not surprising that denial be so prominent a theme in this light comedy, made soon after Hitler’s invasion of Poland. While advancing the premise that Nat is simply a *shlemiel* who longs to get married, various story elements hint at the scope of Nat’s (self-) deception. Even after Nat opens his matchmaking business, so as to follow Shya’s example in finding a mate, evasions continue. Considerable suspension of disbelief is required to accept Nat’s alibi for his lengthy disappearance as he makes secret plans to begin his double life as a *shadkhn* (in Manhattan, he is Nat Silver; in the Bronx, Nat Gold, “Advisor in Human Relations.”) He tells his family he will be taking a European vacation to recover from the disappointment of his latest broken engagement, and though the idea of a Jew in 1940 taking a pleasure trip to Europe might seem incongruous enough to stretch the credulity of even escapist Yiddish viewers, Nat’s family seems content not to question this explanation. While all his clients are screened by a psychiatrist, Nat will not put himself on the couch; when publicity is planned for the matchmaking business, he stipulates that his name be kept out of the papers. The person who finally “cures” Nat by getting him to marry her is a “sophisticated” woman who has been hanging around with artists, actors, “and other peculiar people.” Only she makes an outspoken analysis of Nat—“A yingl! A mama’s boy!”—echoing certain then-popular theories on the etiology of male homosexuality.⁸

While *Amerikaner shadkhn* mocks both traditional Jewish characters and the concept of a happy marriage, many of the more absurd elements of the film ridicule the aristocratic pretensions of Nat’s urbane, conflicted Jewish milieu. One notable example is Nat’s best friend and butler, Morris, a kind of “landsman Friday” whom others in Nat’s circle remember from their sweatshop days. But while on duty, Morris affects a British accent and pretends not to understand the guests’ Yiddish. Returning to his mother tongue after the stag party is over, Morris delivers some of the film’s most suggestive lines while alone in the living room with the resident canary. Describing his master’s well-appointed, but all-singe, household, Morris laments, “Only bachelors! Nat—I—and even this *fyegle* is a bachelor!” The term of endearment by which he refers to the bird is also the most common American Yiddish slang word for male homosexual, a double entendre clearly underlined as Morris feyly asks the birdie whether it is a he or a she. Finally, after

singing a traditional lullaby beginning with the lyrics "Her mikh oys, du feygele/Makh zhe tsu di cygelekh" (Listen, feygele/Close your eyes), Morris blows the canary—"all alone in its cage"—a good night kiss. The film cuts directly to Nat all alone in his tiny boudoir, retiring to bed.

With this extended critique of ambitious, upwardly mobile assimilationists, producer-director Edgar G. Ulmer (who was himself a rather assimilated Jew) caricatures the phenomenon of "closet" Jews, meanwhile indicating other closets in turn. Born in Vienna, director Ulmer had worked in the theater as an actor and designer. He had extensive film experience with the German expressionist director F.W. Murnau, known for his focus on the inner conflicts of characters facing urban corruption and despair (e.g., his 1927 film *Sunrise*). Ulmer's own sensibilities also encompassed a wide range of human relations, as seen in his filmmaking career outside the Yiddish cinema. His credits include various pictures depicting the seamier side of society, particularly scandalous secrets, such as *Damaged Lives* (1933), which dealt explicitly with syphilis.

In the character of Nat's assimilated, "sporty" sister, Elvie (played by Anna Guskina), Ulmer presents an *altrikhnik* female who could be construed as having lesbian subtextual tendencies. In contrast to her "nice boy" brother, Elvie flaunts her flippancy toward traditional Jewish norms. From her first moment on screen, wearing an exercise outfit and referring to observant Jews as "cowboys" for their wide black hats, Elvie is portrayed as an irreverent tomboy. Ulmer focuses on Elvie's dismissive attitude towards potential husbands and childbearing, the pillars of traditional Jewish womanhood, in several comic scenes. In her serious, secret visit to the matchmaking agency on her bachelor brother's behalf, she immediately makes it clear that "I'm not here for myself." Elvie's athletic attire and pastimes, and her notably slangy Yinglish, are ongoing motifs which link her assimilation and rejection of Old World norms to Nat's similarly conflicted identity. Significantly, it is she who first finds out about his secret life as Nat Gold. Yet for all this, Elvie's character remains less developed than Nat's, and her own identity is mostly negatively defined by what she rejects. Even Ulmer left lesbianism invisible compared to gay male possibilities. Perhaps the subject is more marginal because, as Nat's mother says, her son's troubles worry her a lot more than Elvie's.

In the rare instances when lesbianism is more directly hinted at in Yiddish film, these appear as one-shot gags rather than ongoing subtexts, and each instance turns out to be a ruse. Glimpses of incidental female same-sex pairing appear in Yiddish films as far-ranging as the Soviet silent *Yidishe glin* (Jewish Luck, 1925) and the American variety feature *Catskill Honey-moon* (1950). In the former, a "kale-kale maal tov" scene results when Menakhem Mendl's (Solomon Mikhoels) attempts at matchmaking result in the ostensibly most dreadful and hilarious couple imaginable: two brides. But this image, taken directly from Sholem Aleichem's text, has no resonance beyond the joke for which it is the visual punch line. The 1950 film, a loosely-

connected string of mainly Yiddish music and *shund* comedy routines, includes a fleeting bit in its opening number where one woman swoons onto the shoulder of another while singing about romance with boys; she is swiftly rebuffed by the other woman's mortified shrug. This indignant response is a tacit acknowledgment of sapphism, if only as a taboo, indicating some knowledge of actual lesbians in the off-screen world. Yet both films' gags lack any subtext save for their reinforcement of compulsory heterosexuality. Elvie, in *Amerikaner shadkhn*, whether lesbian or not, is nevertheless an independent-minded Jewish female explicitly uninterested in marriage and raising a family, rejecting traditional female roles, and reflecting the ambivalent sophistication of Ulmer's modern characters.

Der vilner shot-khazn was directed by another former Central European stage actor who had made films in Vienna and Berlin before coming to the United States. Max Nossek's B-movie career in America (including such features as *Girls Under Twenty-One*, 1940; and *Gambling Daughters*, 1941) still lay ahead of him when he was hired to make this vehicle for famed screen cantor Moishe Oysher. Like *Amerikaner shadkhn*, Nossek's period piece contains powerful homoerotic undercurrents in its depiction of a man leading a double life, but here the gay subtext is charged with sensuality (expressed in closeups of Oysher's moody face and bedroom eyes). In contrast to Ulmer's comedy about a deracinated *altrikhnik*, this is a cautionary tale of a man whose roots, in the life and music of traditional Judaism, are washed away by a flood of passion for Western classical music. The film's opening scene sets up the seduction of Cantor Yod Strashunsky (Oysher) by representatives of the world of gentile, secular European culture. Polish opera composer Stanislaw Moniuszko and his friend, a conductor, go to hear (and to cruise?) the cantor as he sings in his synagogue. The foppish Poles, visibly excited by the cantor's Rosh Hashana "performance," proceed to lure him first to a series of secret rendezvous, then away from his family and community to a life of excitement, worldly sophistication, and deep inner alienation, ending in tragedy. The parallel with such stereotypical tragic gay scenarios as *Anders als die Anderen* (Different Than the Others, 1919) is strong. The negative resonance between homosexuality and the gentile world continues as the path Strashunsky takes leads not only to his own destruction, but also to that of his family. Moreover, the death of his only child, a son, symbolizes the threat which Strashunsky's "seduction" represents to the continuation of the Jewish people.

That Moniuszko and his kind are gentiles who do not respect Strashunsky's own tradition (they consider his talent "wasted" as a cantor) defines their stance as predatory outsiders, resonating with the image of the homosexual as a frightening "other." The wise rabbi warns Strashunsky: "If you go with them, you'll be left between two worlds," words as significant for the Jewish outsider longing to take part in the gentile world as for the person "coming out" in the straight world as lesbian or gay. In either case, the individual runs the risk of ostracism by

acknowledging aspects of personal identity that conflict with traditional community standards. Strashunsky believes that his artistry and sincerity may bridge the chasm between the "others" world of the Warsaw Opera, and the world represented by his rabbi. He hopes to be able to integrate his divided self through the very sound of his voice: "Even in Polish they will hear my Jewish sorrow." (This poignant line is translated into the more universalist subtitle, "In any language they will hear...." rendering the dialogue by Yiddish poet Yankev Glatshcyn far less pointed.) Visually, Strashunsky's process of "conversion," whether understood as transforming him to gentile or gay, is reflected in certain changes in his appearance: the longer he performs in Warsaw, the more flamboyant his costumes become, until he is seen cavorting on-stage in tights; his shaven beard grows back only when he wanders home, repentant.

While Osip Dymow's screenplay for this film is based on Mark Arnshteyn's play, *Der vilner balebesl* (1906), the opening sequences, showing Strashunsky yielding to the calculated temptations of Moniuszko, are Dymow's innovation. In these scenes, music figures as the instrument of Strashunsky's seduction. A pious man, Strashunsky cannot resist the artistic yearnings stirred by his visits to Moniuszko's parlor. In a culminating shot, Moniuszko is seated at the piano playing exquisite romantic strains as the camera pans languorously past a bust of Beethoven to find the cantor seated, eyes closed in rapture, on the divan. As J. Hoberman describes this scene, "the Balebesl succumbs to the 'Moonlight Sonata' and eagerly accepts the composer's offer to teach him how to read music." (1991:270)

An-sky's play *Der dibek* also received an added prologue with homoerotic overtones when adapted for the screen by an all-Polish Jewish production team in 1937, but here the new layers of meaning show little trace of homophobia. The tone of the screen adaptation may be attributed in part to the personal orientation of the film's director, Michal Waszynski, who according to one source was himself gay.⁹ While the meaningful glances and tender smiles between yeshiva *bokherim* Nisn and Sender do not constitute a sexual plotline or subtext *per se*, they are a rhapsodic cinematic presentation of same-sex bonding. Later separated by lives and marriages in distant towns, they make a youthful pledge of marriage between their unborn children, meant to create a lasting connection for the two men themselves. Though the subject of intimacy between *bokherim* had long been used slanderously by sectarian rivals, the screenplay chooses to highlight the closeness between them, at times lyrically—with repeated singing of passages from *Shir ha-shirim* set in erotic contexts—and at times comically, but as "puppy love" rather than any kind of deviance. While Nisn and Sender each meet a tragic fate, these are not construed as the consequences of their mutual affection. Uniquely, the film version of *Der dibek* looks at men's deep, enduring affection for each other without mocking or vilifying it—an interesting example of tolerance emerging in a film work of Polish Jews beset by ever-greater oppression.

The process of decoding gay cinematic subtext in *Der dibek* presents a semiotic parallel to one of the work's central subjects, the study of Kabbalah. In both these exercises in decoding the text, cryptic yet profound meanings are available only to those initiated into certain esoteric realms. Moreover, in both cases, the power of such revelations can be enormous; mystery and danger are interwoven with the quest for knowledge. While these themes apply most specifically to *Der dibek*, all the films discussed here yield deeper understanding when viewed with this new source of insight.

Notes

- 1 When homosexuality was acknowledged on the Yiddish stage, it tended to be the stuff of scandal. In addition to Yiddish variety acts' frequent disparagement of effeminate males, a uniquely overt and dramatic treatment of lesbianism caused Sholem Asch's play *Goi fun nehome* (God of Vengeance) to open in Berlin in 1907, as the material was "too offensive for Warsaw." (Hoberman, 1991:20, 104-5)
- 2 The Motion Picture Production Code, also known as the Hays Code, was an industry-imposed set of standards designed to keep moral critics of Hollywood productions from seeking government regulation of movie content. Beginning in 1930, Will Hays' office imposed increasingly strict censorship which lasted several decades, forbidding such things as the use of the word 'pansy' in American films (Russo 1981:40).
- 3 See also Russo's gay necrology with listings by film, homosexual character, and cause of deaths (Russo 1981:347-349). Such obligatory elimination applied also to other sorts of "deviants," e.g., Communists, space aliens, and vampires (the latter doubly stigmatized by their own homoerotic subtext).
- 4 Another secular extension of parodic transvestitism among American Jews was the phenomenon of the mock marriage, "the most popular do-it-yourself entertainment" of the Catskills resorts, "a farcical version of the traditional Jewish wedding ceremony" in which both men and women cross-dressed, as documented in the film *Rise and Fall of the Borscht Belt* (1985). Such pastimes were also popular among other ethnic groups vacationing in the Catskills during the post-World War II period, as cited in personal communication with Bertha Rogers of the Delaware County Historical Society, 17 February 1994.
- 5 Producer-director Joseph Green's next picture with Picon, *Mamele* (1938), has various parallels with the plot of *Yidl*. Molly plays the "little mother," another modest but feisty character who sacrifices her own happiness (and romantic prospects) to try to keep her motherless family together. And here, among other classic Molly *shikelekhs*, is again a kitten, the small furry creature on whom Picon lavishes her frustrated affections.
- 6 The ribald lyrics of the "Shiker" song include Isaac's cynical retort to Froim's boast about girls and drinking, in which Isaac alludes to masurbation: "Meydl [girl], shimeydl, partner/That's all foolishness.... In one hand is my drinking glass/In the other, the clarinet!" The licentious *klezmer* makes a related double entendre when he finally agrees to settle down with the girlfriend whose cooking he adores, saying, "I guess I'll swap my clarinet for your fish."

- 7 For a detailed account of the origins of the *Muskeljudentum* movement, particularly as a response to theories of degeneracy among Jews, see Biale 1992, especially pp. 177-182 in the "Zionism as Erotic Revolution" chapter. Non-Zionist contemporary Jewish movements, e.g., the Bund, likewise included physical culture as part of their ideologies of transformation. On misogyny and the "feminine" weakness of Diaspora," see also Biale 1992:186. On the feminized image of Jewish males, see also Solomon 1993:29. For a discussion of the image of the feminized Jew as an influence on Freud, see Gilman 1994.
- 8 Theories on the formation of male homosexuality and the role of the mother, as defined by Freud, Rado, Bieber and Socarides, are outlined in Bayer 1981:24-38.
- 9 Personal communication with J. Hoberman, 15 February 1994, based on an interview during his research for Hoberman 1991.

References

Abrahams, Israel. 1896. *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: Jewish Historical Society.

Bayer, Ronald. 1981. *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis*. New York: Basic Books.

Biale, David. 1992. *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America*. New York: Basic Books.

Gilman, Sander L. 1994. *Freud, Race and Gender*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hoberman, J. 1991. *Bridge of Light: Yiddish Film Between Two Worlds*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art/Schocken.

Russo, Vito. 1981. *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*. New York: Harper and Row.

Shandler, Jeffrey. 1992. *Out and West*, Old World and New: Nostalgia and Anti-Nostalgia on the Silver Screen. *YIVO Annual* 21:153-188.

Solomon, Alisa. 1993. The Eternal Queer: In the Symbolic Landscape of Homophobia, We Are the Jews. *Village Voice* (27 April):29, 34.

Reports

The Music of Jewish Film: A Research Report

Mark Slobin

I have embarked on a long-term project I'm calling "the ethno-musicology of film," which is essentially a search for the cultural patterning of music in film of all genres (from fiction to ethnography) from around the world. As part of this global interest, the study of (1) how Jewish sound film of the 1930s to the 1950s used music and (2) the way mainstream Euro-American film has depicted Jews musically, seems a good beginning point for illuminating some basic issues.

In a talk delivered at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (18 February 1993), entitled "Fiddlers and Prayers: Music in Jewish Film," I laid out some early thoughts on the subject. The portrayal and sound of the praying Jew—both male and female—is a favorite trope of Jewish independent film and Hollywood alike. As in earlier Yiddish theater, the image of the performed sacred text occurs at key narrative moments, and its sound helps organize the desired cultural representation. J. Hoberman, in his splendid study of Yiddish film (*Bridge of Light: Yiddish Film Between Two Worlds* [New York: Schocken Books/Museum of Modern Art, 1991]) has already noticed a prominent music-based trope in a chapter aptly titled "The Cantor's Sons." Another such narrative/music thematic unit/metaphor, is the appearance of fiddlers—from the drunken Ukrainian "enemy camp" fiddler in *Tevey der milkhiker*, Maurice Schwartz's 1939 version of Sholem Aleichem's dramatization of his Tevey stories, to the title character in Norman Jewison's 1971 film version of

the Broadway musical *Fiddler on the Roof*—shows considerable diversity and complexity.

In studying the independent cinema, bouncing films made in Poland off those made in the United States is a helpful approach, especially in the case of joint Polish-American productions, the most famous example being *Yidl min fidl* (1936). Yidl's renunciation of the violin at the film's end, in order to concentrate on song and comedy routines, coincides with her emigration to America; thus, it resonates with the general fate of the fiddle as a symbol of *yidishkayt*, as it becomes abandoned in the "golden age" of klezmer music recordings in New York.

Methodologically, the existence of a parallel African-American independent film industry (making what was known then as "race films") in the same time period, at times financed by the same Jewish producers who supported Yiddish film, is extremely helpful, making possible the analysis of "subcultural film" as a larger category vis-à-vis the mainstream model. I hope to use this approach as a springboard to some of the more global issues in my long-range project, as in some respect all non-Euro-American film systems—from Mexico to India to China—are subcultural to the dominant Western system of image, narrative, and soundtrack. So while I see the study of musical imagery in Jewish film as a logical extension of my earlier and current research on Jewish music, the findings should illuminate a broader, comparative landscape as well.

Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer

Toby Blum-Dobkin

Editor's note: Videotaping survivors and other witnesses to the Holocaust is one of the newest means of documenting this period of history. Over the past decade, a number of universities, museums and Holocaust resource centers have been involved in making and preserving these tapes, which are widely regarded as an invaluable resource for understanding the Holocaust.

For the folklorist and ethnologist, these videotapes and the contexts in which they have been produced, housed and used raise a number of general questions about memory culture, life review, the interview process and the use of videotape in recording personal history. They are also of interest to those who study the history and folklore of the Holocaust, modern Jewry or wartime.

In the following essay, which we have structured in the form of an interview, Toby Blum-Dobkin discusses the methodology of videotaping Holocaust interviews at one institution. Toby is a folklorist on the staff of A Living Memorial to the Holocaust: Museum of Jewish Heritage, which is to be built in New York's Battery Park City. As the Academic Coordinator of the Museum's Video History Project, she is responsible for the project's design, format, methodology and content. From the project's inception, she has served as its chief interviewer, has trained other members of the interviewing team and has been involved in planning educational uses for the videotapes.

Tell us about the project that you have been working on:

Since its inception, The Museum of Jewish Heritage has included in its mandate the recording of videotaped interviews with eyewitnesses to the Holocaust. In 1989 we received a grant from the Charles H. Revson Foundation to produce videotaped testimonies, and we became an affiliate of Yale University's Fortunoff Video Archives for Holocaust Testimonies. This has enabled us to benefit from the expertise of the Yale team, while creating methods and formats suited to our own goals and needs. We have also worked productively with other institutions, including Self Help Community Services, a long-standing Yale affiliate that co-produces interviews with us at its Queens location, and the Holocaust Resource Center at Queensboro Community College, which was generous with advice and studio space when our project was in its inception. I work in partnership with Project Coordinator Joni-Sue Blinderman, who is responsible for the project's general operation, scheduling, pre-interview research and supervision of volunteers, and who also serves as a chief interviewer.

Our collection of videotaped interviews is now one of the largest of its kind in the world. As of January 1994, it consisted of 580 interviews, totalling approximately 2,000 hours.

What is the stated agenda of the project? How is the scope of the project defined?

The primary mandate of the Video History Project is to add to the documentation of the Jewish experience just before, during and in the years after the Second World War. From the beginning, this core mandate has been broadened in a number of ways. First of all, we do not limit the interviewees to Holocaust survivors; the Jewish wartime experience is too complicated for that. Having designated a time period and area of experience as our field of interest, we then interview those individuals whose recollections shed light on that period and on that experience. I feel that the project should be as inclusive as possible while remaining focused on the Jewish experience, with the war years as a central but not exclusive concern. We therefore interview concentration camp survivors, wartime refugees, partisans, individuals who spent the war years in Shanghai, in Russia, in the forests and fields of Eastern Europe, Jews who were disguised as non-Jews, children who were in hiding, non-Jews who rescued Jews, soldiers who liberated concentration camps or were stationed in postwar Occupied Germany, prosecutors and judges of war crimes trials, postwar relief workers among the Displaced Persons, and so forth.

In addition to interviewing a broad range of individuals, we also seek to document a broad time span, and to record the events of the war years in the context of Jewish history and culture. While memorialization of the Holocaust is the reason for doing the interviews, it is important to document the destroyed communities not only in the time of their destruction but in the time of their vibrancy as well. Similarly, it is important to remember that an individual who is a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto is also a person who experienced a childhood, played with friends, attended school, celebrated holidays, lived on a specific street in a specific neighborhood; after the war, that person experienced a time of displacement as well as many years of living in a new society. We document such topics as school days in Warsaw, Sukkot in Hungary, a Jewish childhood in Greece, wartime cultural life in Shanghai, political life in a Displaced Persons camp in Germany, and many more. The interviews are therefore more life histories than they are conventional Holocaust interviews.

What is seen as the particular value of doing this on videotape—as opposed to, say, audio tape or surveys, or collecting written memoirs, artifacts, paintings, etc.?

Each level and medium of documentation has both advantages and drawbacks. Different kinds of documentation can add to and corroborate each other. Video and audiotape are equally good for conveying verbal information. Audio does have the advantages of being more portable, less expensive and less technologically intrusive; an audiotaped interview is thereby less a public presentation than a video interview is. Video, however, has the distinct advantage of showing us an individual's appearance, expressions and gestures, of presenting the human face of history. Furthermore, it can depict not only the interviewee, but also artifacts, photographs, artwork and film.

Whenever possible, we incorporate the individuals' personal documents, including any photographs and memorabilia they may have donated to the Museum, into the interview itself. When appropriate in the narrative, an individual may show and describe the artifact in question, and tell the story of its provenance and place in his life history. This serves not only to illustrate and dramatize the individual's story, but to add to the documentation of the artifacts and photographs. This special attention to artifacts is something I designed into the project from its inception, and I believe that it is unique.¹

For instance, I recently interviewed Ruth Schwartz, who with her late husband, the sculptor Simche Schwartz, created a Yiddish puppet theater in wartime Switzerland and in postwar Paris. I asked Dr. Schwartz to demonstrate some of the 17 *papier-mâché* puppets that are part of a sizable collection she donated to the Museum. She held the puppets, told the story of their creation and use, demonstrated the puppetry techniques employed, discussed design issues while showing sketches and photographs, and acted out portions of the puppet plays. All this was done within the context of discussing the history and cultural life of prewar Germany in which Dr. Schwartz was born and grew up, the wartime and postwar worlds of Switzerland and France, the artistic and cultural circles of which the Schwartz's were a part (including Marc Chagall), and Simche and Ruth Schwartz's years of professional development in postwar Argentina.

The Video History Project has also developed a format for the production of interviews which combine an individual's testimony with a voice-over narration of rare prewar, wartime and postwar film footage, which in some cases has been donated by that individual. A recent example is the documentary footage of the Terezin Ghetto narrated by Frederick Terna, a former inmate of the ghetto. Our staff and technical consultants have been instrumental in adapting our one-camera video set-up to this specialized use.

Who are the audiences for these tapes?

We envision a variety of potential audiences, including scholars, the museumgoing public, students and individuals researching specific topics or locations, and documentary filmmakers. Our collection is not currently open to the public; however, a copy of each of our interviews is archived at Yale, which is open to the public. We have on occasion been able to accommodate researchers. For instance, following the recent controversy surrounding some information presented in the documentary film *Liberators*, the Museum was asked by the research staff at WNET/Channel 13 if we possessed any information that would be of help in checking the accuracy of the film. Because of the attention paid to historical detail in our interviews, WNET's research staff was able, by viewing our videotapes, to clarify and correct specific issues raised regarding the film.

Since we regard the tapes as primary documents, they are archived as raw footage, unedited in any way. Scholars can therefore have access to the material as it appeared in the original interview. As I mentioned, future plans include the production of educational films and interactive technology and exhibits that will use edited interview excerpts. The original interviews, however, will retain their integrity as documents by remaining unedited.

How are informants contacted? What, if any, recruiting is done? Is there any selection process before the interview is recorded?

Any individual who can add to the knowledge of the Jewish experience during the Holocaust is eligible to be interviewed. There is no selection process *per se*, although we would not interview an individual who was not a credible witness. Our general approach is that it is not up to us to decide whose life story is important, worthwhile or dramatic; we don't rate life histories in any way, and feel that all are equally valuable. Some of the individuals we interview are people who have donated artifacts or photographs to the Museum. Many informants contact us after reading about the project or hearing about it through word of mouth, often from someone who has already been interviewed. Occasionally we are contacted by an organization that would like its members interviewed. For instance, the Museum was invited by the coordinators of the first Hidden Child Conference, in May 1991, to record video testimony during that historic gathering. Since that time, we have interviewed well over 100 individuals who, as children during the war, hid in forests, fields, schools, convents, barns, sewers and homes. Almost 200 more people from this population have contacted us and are still to be interviewed.

We have sought a balanced spectrum of informants, with regard to such demographic factors as geography, gender, social, cultural and religious background, occupation, and so forth. At times this requires outreach to members of relatively underrepresented groups, such as Jews from the former Yugoslav Republics, parts of the Czech and Slovak Republics, Italy and Greece. We

have interviewed prominent individuals whose achievements are well-documented, as well as individuals who appear in no documentation but these videos. And when we do interview prominent people, we talk to them about their personal experiences as well as their public lives. For instance, when I interviewed Telford Taylor, I asked not only about the Nuremberg war crimes trials but also what daily life in postwar Germany was like for the prosecutors and their staff members. When interviewing broadcasting pioneer Fred Friendly, I asked about his family, his participation in the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp, and his experience as a producer for CBS.

What are informants told beforehand? Do they sign any kind of agreement? How much discussion of what they will talk about is there beforehand? Are informants' real names used?

Informants are fully informed about the nature of the project and the potential future uses of the materials. They are also briefed on the nature of the interview process itself, the format, procedure and camera placement, and are invited to bring any photographs, documents or objects which illustrate their narratives.

After making an appointment to be interviewed, the individual is contacted by the interviewer. Together they discuss the kinds of things that will probably be talked about during the interview, in effect deciding the format together. Although we don't require preparation of any kind, informants may prepare in any way that makes sense to them, such as looking over or organizing family photographs ahead of time.

We do use informants' real names, and in this we depart from some other projects, which use informants' initials or first name and last initials. I made this decision because I believe that individuals should be credited for their words and for their life histories. The interviewee is viewed as neither a case study nor a client, but as a partner in the interviewing process.

If someone should request anonymity, it would be honored. However, such requests are extremely rare. Occasionally, for reasons of privacy, an informant will not want the interview to be seen for a certain number of years. In such an instance, a clause can be added to the release form specifying that the interview not be viewed until a specified date. This solution is preferable to anonymity since it will allow appropriate attribution to be given when the interview is used.

The standard release form is a legal document specifying the Museum's rights to the videotaped interview. This release form is sent to all interviewees well in advance of the interviews, so that any questions that come up can be answered ahead of time. We don't pressure anyone to sign a release form or to be interviewed. However, we cannot undertake the interview without a signed and witnessed release form, since we would then be unable to use the interview for its intended purposes.

How are interviewers selected and trained? To what extent are they required to keep to a particular approach and to what extent can they innovate, be spontaneous, try alternative approaches?

The people on our interviewer staff all have advanced academic training in Jewish history, specifically Jewish history of the interwar, war and postwar periods, and all have extensive interviewing training and experience. They are fluent in a variety of languages, allowing us to conduct interviews in the languages of the interviewees' choice.

The interviewers are required to adhere to a basic set of guidelines and a basic format. Within these, we allow a great deal of flexibility. Each interview is different because of a number of variables including both the informant and the interviewer. We neither expect nor want the interviewers to be interchangeable, although we do expect them to be equally competent, professional and adaptable to different interviewees and different interview situations. Innovation and any alternative approaches the interviewer feels appropriate are encouraged if these further the goal of creating an interview true to the interviewee's experience. Spontaneity for its own sake has no place in an interview, since the point is not for the interviewer to demonstrate his or her own knowledge or inventiveness, but to remain in the background and help the interviewee tell his story. We trust the interviewers' professionalism and judgment, subject to review and advice.

How is the interview structured: are there fixed sets of questions? Is there a preferred order to be followed? What "basic" information is recorded?

The format for the interviews follows that of life histories, with a basic chronological structure. Since the period we are dealing with is so complex, we prefer to keep our format simple, practical and flexible. We make it clear to the interviewees that the result of the interview will be unedited footage, and that the chronological format is not a strict one; we encourage pauses, referring back to previously covered topics, asides, questions, emendations to statements made earlier in the interview, and any other ways of presenting the material that the interviewee and interviewer find useful.

After an appointment is made, each interviewee is sent a packet of information about the Museum and the Video History Project. This packet also includes a copy of the release form and a questionnaire to be filled out prior to the interview. This questionnaire functions as a cover sheet for our files, ensuring that spellings of names and locations in several languages, dates, and other basic information are accurate.

There is no standard interview questionnaire, nor is there a set of questions that can be used in each interview. Before an interview, the interviewer refers to the informant's questionnaire and to any other material the informant has sent or discussed. The interviewer also examines relevant supplementary materials,

such as published material about specific localities, and the comprehensive files in the Museum's research collection. For instance, before interviewing an individual who participated in the liberation of a camp, an interviewer may review the detailed topical questionnaires of the Brooklyn Center for Holocaust Studies, whose pioneering collection of audiotaped interviews is now housed at the Museum. The interviewer then prepares a field guide for that specific interview. This can consist of just a page of reminders about what to ask, or of a longer set of guidelines. The field guide is a practical compromise between a detailed prepared list of questions and an unstructured discussion. The interviewer may refer to the field guide from time to time but will not read from it throughout the course of the interview. This would disrupt the concentration and eye contact between informant and interviewer that is essential for a videotaped interview.

When, if at all, will interviewers interrupt or challenge an informant or try to change the subject or course of the informant's account? Are there any subjects considered taboo? Are there subjects considered essential?

We follow accepted ethnographic interviewing procedures, as well as common sense. We feel that the informant knows his life story better than the interviewer does, and that the interviewer is there to facilitate the telling of this life story. This means setting a pleasant conversational tone, not interrupting the informant and not challenging the veracity of statements made during the interview. This is not to say that the interviewer's attitude should be uncritical; there are areas that must be clarified and probed, there are also dates and events for which other sources of documentation can be checked and used for corroboration at a later time. We keep in mind that all human beings are fallible in memory and capable of distorting remembered events. We also keep in mind that the value of the narrated material is not merely in the absolute accuracy of every item, but also in the cumulative picture obtained.

In all cases, the informant's own terminology and ideas are sought; interviewers make every effort to avoid superimposing their own attitudes, values, terminology and cultural categories. They avoid asking leading questions. Prompting has its place, but the informant should first have his or her say.

No subject is taboo. The only taboos are for the staff. It is taboo for an interviewer to pressure an informant to talk about a topic that he or she does not want to talk about. It is also taboo for an interviewer to editorialize or to monopolize the conversation, or to "break frame" during an interview by arguing about or critiquing aspects of the interview.

How are interviews conducted?

The interviews take place in a studio in the Manhattan offices of the Museum of Jewish Heritage. The only people present in the room are the interviewee, the interviewer and the

videographer. The informant sits facing the interviewer and the camera. The sound technician, the coordinator (if she is not conducting the interview) and any friends or relatives accompanying the interviewee sit in an adjacent office where they can see and hear the proceedings on a monitor. Rarely is there more than one interviewer present; this may be the case if an interviewer is in the process of being trained. Under special circumstances there may be more than one interviewee; siblings, a married couple or friends may appear together, but generally only after they have been interviewed separately so each person can be given individual attention.

There is no minimum or maximum time for an interview. If our budget allowed, each interview would be open-ended, and would last as long, over as many sessions, as the interviewee and interviewer wanted it to last. An individual is usually given an appointment for a half-day interview, with the option of rescheduling if more time is needed. Occasionally an interview is under an hour; others have lasted over several sessions.

Because of technological considerations there are periodic short breaks, during which we have the opportunity to discuss the progress of the interview. These breaks help shape the interviews; during a break there may be a mutual agreement that an interview will conclude before the next break. The interviewer then thanks the interviewee, and the interviewee, if he or she chooses to, may make a statement of conclusion or summation.

In what languages are interviews conducted? How is language choice decided?

Interviews have been conducted in Yiddish, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, French, Spanish and Hebrew, in addition to English. The issue of language is a complicated one. On the one hand, as someone trained in ethnography I believe that for accuracy of expression and elicitation of native terminology, a person should be interviewed in the language in which he or she is most comfortable, preferably in the language that person spoke at the time of the events being described. Such interviews also serve as important documentation of language and dialect use. While they do not comprise a majority of the interviews, and although they are more time-consuming to index and catalogue, the Yiddish, French, Russian and other non-English language interviews in our collection are especially valuable because of their linguistic and ethnographic integrity.

On the other hand, the Museum's Video History Project is an educationally oriented project with the goal of creating an archive accessible to both scholars and the general public in the United States and elsewhere. The interviewees themselves are given a choice of which language to be interviewed in. Those living in English-speaking countries usually prefer to be interviewed in English, so that their interviews will be accessible to their younger family members and to the general public. Therefore we must strike a balance between the research-oriented considerations of using an individual's native language, and the practical considerations of making the material maximally accessible.

How are interviews filmed? How are videotapes handled once they have been recorded?

The subject matter is compelling and dramatic enough that we do not choose to resort to any unusual camera techniques, but rather to trust that the videographers will present each individual in a simple, appropriate, dignified manner, using the best technology available to us. Individuals are videotaped against a simple black background. We are somewhat limited in that we use one camera only. The camera most often focuses on the individual's head and shoulders, depicting hands when appropriate. Artifacts and photographs are videotaped being held by and discussed by the individual, and also separately, after the interview, in close-up on a stand. The interviewer is not usually seen on the videotape, but there are exceptions to this.

Four videotapes are made at a time; in effect, four master tapes. One three-quarter-inch tape goes into archival storage for the Museum, one three-quarter-inch tape is sent to Yale's archive, one VHS tape with time code is kept in our office as a working copy, and one VHS tape without time code is given to the interviewee.

What post-taping activities involve either interviewer or informant?

Immediately after the interview, staff and interviewee usually converse for a while, over a cup of tea, discussing the interview and other matters. A thank-you letter is sent to the interviewee, and very often, although not always, there is further discussion of the interview between the interviewee and staff members. We are always interested in knowing the interviewee's comments about an interview; follow-up often includes recommendations by interviewees of friends and family members to be interviewed. Interviewers are asked to write brief interview follow-up reports.

What are storage and usage policies?

Master copies are stored in climate-controlled archival facilities in a secure location. Usage policies are limited at the present time, since there are as yet no public viewing facilities. Interviewees' copies of the tapes may be used for personal and family viewing. When the Museum facility is in operation, usage policies will be more formalized. The interviews are currently being indexed and are being entered on a Museum database, which will greatly facilitate both in-house and eventual public use of the material. Eventually, we expect to join RLIN, the Research Libraries Information Network, for accessibility to scholars worldwide.

What issues do you think the materials or the project of creating and preserving them raise for the folklorist? How has your training as a folklorist shaped the way you work on these interviews?

I consider the videotaping of interviews to be a natural progression of the technology of documentation. Historians and ethnographers have always used whatever documentary means were available, from pen and paper to wax cylinders, to film, to audiotapes, and now videotapes. Each technology has brought with it merits and drawbacks, along with much discussion on methodology. Some scholars are hesitant about the credibility of orally transmitted material, while others have incorporated narrated material into the standard methods and theories of historiography and other fields. An extreme approach would be to state that we must believe anything anyone tells us; another equally ludicrous extreme would hold that nothing anyone recollects is credible. Common sense obviously precludes either of these positions, and tells us that recollections have the potential not only for emotional or psychological truth, but for historical veracity as well.

Ethnographers and folklorists have long regarded orally collected material as valued primary sources. Such material should be collected with methodological rigor. It should then be evaluated according to accepted standards of authenticity, reliability, validity and credibility as are other kinds of sources, whether manuscript, print or photographic.

My training as a folklorist and as a researcher in Jewish history have both been integral to the way I designed the project and trained interviewers: the approach to the informant as a partner in creating a document; the decision to give the individuals credit for their words and life histories; the decision to create an interview format that would adapt to the individual and his or her story; the acknowledgement that recollections have their limitations but also have validity; our decision to elicit detailed descriptions of daily life, celebrations, surroundings, food, dress, music, etc.

I believe we should approach individuals interviewed for a Holocaust-centered project with the same scholarly criteria we use to interview witnesses to other historical events. Although the subject matter may at times be emotionally charged, it is our obligation to approach it in an academically sound manner, with respect for the potential historicity of this unique primary source.

Note

- 1 The New York Times noted that in the Video History Project "the Museum has created a collection that would allow it to do something no other Holocaust museum has done. It has videotaped survivors discussing the artifacts they are donating, giving life to the relics of a smitten world." (12 December 1993:47)

A Holocaust Mourning Show? Research Note

Iwona Irwin-Zarecka

On the evening of 19 April 1993, Polish television presented a live broadcast of a *son-et-lumière* show staged near the center of Warsaw, an hour-and-one-half production involving elaborate technical means as well as thousands of participants. Designed and directed by well-known professionals, it received wide critical praise. And there would be nothing unusual about it at all, except that this media event commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, with the sky used as a screen on which were projected images of the massive deportations of the Jews to Treblinka, complete with the screeching noises of the cattle cars. Only towards the end were the people on the ground at the square now surrounding the monument to ghetto fighters seen lighting memorial candles.

The spectacle, according to two North American visitors I spoke with, was very moving indeed. My mother, who lives in Warsaw but chose to watch the event on television, also remarked on its powerful spiritual effect. Press reports were to confirm that these were not isolated reactions. In fact, of all the commemorative events—and there were many, at sights ranging from Warsaw's Jewish cemetery to the grand Congress Hall in the once-Stalinist Palace of Culture and Science—the evening broadcast was judged as the most apt gesture of public remembrance.

For students of the vicissitudes of memories of the Holocaust, the show's apparent success raises some serious questions. In effect, it opens an altogether novel research agenda, one which may prove especially difficult to fulfill. In these brief reflections, I will try to explain why.

First, the questions. Television has long been acknowledged as an important storyteller, its resources, limitations and narrative strategies subject to a great deal of analytical scrutiny. As the debates around the 1978 NBC miniseries *Holocaust* have shown, there is little consensus on the "proper" usage of the medium for conveying the realities of the Holocaust. Yet if each new attempt to tell the story is open to much discussion, there is now less opposition to the very idea that television has a significant role to play in the construction of public memory. And, over the years, the tools we use to study both the contents of television programming and its reception have improved considerably, so that a case-by-case look at representations of the Holocaust can be of great value when aiming to understand better the Americans—or others'—perceptions of history. In short, for all the challenging problems television's treatment of this "story" poses, we have the analytical vocabulary to address them.

The trouble with the 19 April broadcast starts with naming. What does one call a show that offers a mediated "site" for mourning? And what becomes of "audiences" when their emotional engagement is to reach the realm of *sacrum*? What do

we make of this fully artificial production of feelings, of remembrance?

I would like to stress the word "artificial" here, for it is this aspect of the broadcast which most separates it from the otherwise parallel phenomenon of television serving as a public space, a commons for sharing grief. The medium's coverage following the Kennedy assassination, and, to a lesser extent, that of the Challenger disaster, are just two of the more familiar instances. But in those cases, grieving Americans were obviously not the end-product of a television production; both the sentiments and the need for sharing them were there to begin with. What happened in Warsaw is of different quality indeed.

First, the show was fully staged, its timing the result of the way that our memory calendars privilege round-number anniversaries, its scale reflecting Poland's politics of the moment. For people participating in the ceremonies—mainly Jews from abroad, many Holocaust survivors and their relatives—the specialness of the occasion would feel very natural; it was, in effect, the reason for their presence. But among the television audience at large, the ordinary Poles, by then saturated with news items and documentaries relating to the anniversary, the evening broadcast had a different emotional resonance. For a minority, I would guess, it did offer a time/space for reflection and mourning. For others? Why would someone with no particular reason for grieving watch the program: for its spectacular production value? or to get a glimpse at the raw pain of the Jews, figures now totally exotic in Poland?

Whatever the reason for tuning in, and however varied the actual audience response, the critical acclaim I mentioned earlier indicates that the show "worked." For all my own misgivings about using television to construct an essentially sacred moment of remembrance, this proved possible. Even if the effect would be fleeting, in a country where grieving for the Jews has been both rare and private, television might have accomplished more than any other medium of public discourse. Why find such a success story problematic?

In part, the problem lies with the very novelty of this approach to remembrance. If the terrain of the collective memory of the Holocaust accommodates an extremely varied range of symbolic strategies—and critical judgments as to how these work—producing a television "mourning show" still stands apart. Over the years, we have come to accept that the Holocaust tests our human abilities to communicate and to remember to their ultimate limits; the surprise that greeted the first volume of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* comic book (1986) gave way to un punctuated praise for its sequel (1991). The use of television to tell the story, too, has been largely, if grudgingly, accepted. Is not the staging of commemorative rituals for live broadcast simply

another way for the medium to play its part in securing that the Holocaust be remembered? Considering the sheer size of its audience—a key argument for supporting such endeavors as the screening of Claude Lanzmann's 1985 documentary film *Shoah*, for example—wouldn't this indeed be the medium of choice? The fact that this particular show was considered successful—in a country not generally given to grieving for Jews, at a time when many a heated political debate might invoke theories of the Jewish conspiracy; in short, in the context of indifference at best—speaks of great emotional power. Just imagine what could be accomplished in more hospitable environments...

In the United States, where the effort to secure the widest non-Jewish public presence for the memory of the Holocaust has gone the farthest, recognizing the potential impact of televised "mourning shows" is important. I have no doubt that in time someone will wish to follow the Warsaw example; in fact, the possibilities of broadcasting from such sites as Auschwitz, with their appeal of authenticity, have already been explored, in *War and Remembrance* (ABC, 1988-1989), for example. There is, in principle, nothing to prevent further co-operation with the Polish authorities in importing rituals: the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., is, after all, home to so many imported objects. If realizing that soon the survivors of the Holocaust will no longer be among us as memory keepers has led to such massive work as that in Washington, it is perfectly reasonable to expect a continuing search for other means to connect remembrance to history. A televised prayer from Treblinka may well fit in.

At this point, one can still only speculate what the "Americanization" of the Holocaust—the explicit goal of the Washington museum—will come to mean in other realms of public discourse. That it is likely increasingly to involve television—and in ways that go well beyond the traditional storytelling—necessitates that we begin the analytical groundwork. The challenge is two-fold. First, we are now lacking some basic vocabulary to describe—and to understand—what I have called here a "mourning show." And then, we would also need to develop a degree of consensus as to the ways to assess such productions

critically. The two tasks are interrelated, and both demand a good deal of imaginative crossing of disciplinary boundaries. Were we to decide, for example, that mediated ritual is still primarily a ritual, our heuristics would very much involve the tools of ethnography, our judgments reflect the sentiments among the people we study. On the other hand, treating such shows as "texts"—rather than occasions—may result in giving more weight to the analysis of their rhetorical strategies, with an emphasis on how the evoked meanings construct particular relations to particular pasts. Micro-level inquiries of this kind could then lead to a variety of wider, contextual questions about the workings of Holocaust remembrance, as well as those of the medium itself.

If I am refraining here from suggesting which research direction would be best to pursue, it is because as a student of the dynamics of collective memory I strongly favor input from a range of analytical perspectives. In the case of "mourning shows," it would be especially counter-productive to decide on one approach to the exclusion of others before knowing the relative returns from each. The fact that we are dealing here with something on the borders of many categories prompts an added degree of intellectual humility. It is entirely possible, for example, that we could learn the most from people studying television evangelism; at the very least, we need to keep the options open.

Developing an understanding of the problematics of Holocaust "mourning shows" is not simply an analytical challenge. If dealing with Holocaust materials is always emotionally difficult—which both researchers and their readers acknowledge—our grief remains private and contained. Can it still be so when what we study calls on us as viewers to share in mourning? And if we choose to detach ourselves, can we then possibly apprehend the sentiments involved?

Having written down these questions, I am starkly reminded of the reality that the 19 April broadcast asks me to confront. What in my personal world as a child of the Holocaust exists as unhealed pain is now, for the wider world, a feeling to be manufactured, mediated, transformed at will. As successful as such a production of grief can be, is it a proper way to remember?

DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees

Roberta Newman

One of the first political expressions of the postwar American Jewish community was a large-scale campaign on behalf of refugees. World War II had marked a shift in prominence for the American Jewish community. By the end of the war, confirmation of the nearly complete destruction of all centers of European

Jewish life led to the realization that the large Jewish community of the United States would play an increasingly important role in world Jewish affairs. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was one of the most prominent organizations that publicized its activities on behalf of Jewish refugees and

attempted to build public acceptance of displaced persons (or, as they were often called, "DPs") by producing propaganda, which included radio plays and "docudrama" films.¹

Propaganda, to paraphrase Erving Goffman, has been neglected as "the back region" of organizational history, the backstage to the "real" performance of history (1959). Though institutional propaganda is often socially and politically revealing, the subject has been neglected even by historians who specialize in the study of American Jewish organizations (Cohen 1972, White 1957, Wischnitzer 1956). There is a paucity of historical studies that reflect current ideas about media culture and the power of public relations. Many Jewish organizations themselves give short shrift to the work of their public relations departments, seeing them as auxiliaries and facilitators of the agencies' "real" work. Indeed, the ephemera of institutional culture, such as the records of public relations departments, are often the first to be disposed of when an organization moves offices and donates the contents of its file cabinets to an archive.

This essay is a preliminary attempt to provide a place for the "displaced" artifacts of organizational propaganda within historical discourse. I will examine one example of what we now call docudrama that was used by HIAS in the course of its pro-DP public relations campaign. The historical precedent for using a docudrama format as propaganda will be discussed, as will the ways in which the structural and stylistic conventions of the form lent themselves to the "hiding" of political concerns under the bushel of "human interest" stories. This essay will also show that the pro-DP propaganda did not entirely succeed in depoliticizing the issues surrounding the opening of the doors of the United States to large numbers of refugees. Its very preoccupation with demonstrating that Jewish refugees were not subversive or defective, and its attempts to equate open-door immigration policy with patriotism betray the political concerns of its makers, who were anxious to downplay public perceptions about Jewish predilections toward radicalism.

Placing the Displaced: A HIAS Film

In May 1948, three years after the end of the war, there were over half a million refugees in zones under the administration of Western allies in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Among them were about 200,000 Jews, most of whom were unwilling to return to their countries of origin (Dinnerstein 1982:286, 278). Many, but not all Jewish DPs wanted to emigrate to Israel. Many others wished to emigrate to America, but restrictive immigration quotas made only a few DPs eligible for visas to the U.S. In fact, American public opinion was against opening the doors to more immigrants. Polls indicated that the majority of Americans held antisemitic views of one sort or another and that Congress was rife with nativism, antisemitism, and burgeoning Cold War paranoia (Dinnerstein 1982:5-6).

Between 1947 and 1950, HIAS and other organizations lobbied Congress for the liberalization of immigration quotas, which were seen as particularly discriminatory towards Jews.²

These organizations produced films, radio programs, editorials, brochures and other media in a national campaign to create more favorable public opinion about DPs. The radio programs were sent out to various radio stations and broadcast in various cities. The films were by and large distributed to synagogues and community groups.³

In May 1948, HIAS released *Placing the Displaced*, a docudrama that depicts the HIAS-assisted emigration of a "typical" Jewish family from a German DP camp. The 28-minute, 16mm film was directed by HIAS's Public Relations Director, Martin A. Bursten, a former U.S. war correspondent, who traveled to Germany in 1947 to oversee its production. Much of it was filmed on location near Munich at Funk Kaserne, the largest emigration assembly center in the U.S. Zone, which had formerly served as a headquarters for Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. The film's title was drawn from HIAS's 1948 slogan, "HIAS places the Displaced!" which was also emblazoned on its stationery along with HIAS's "globe" logo.

Placing the Displaced combines dramatic sequences staged specifically for the film with newsreel footage and on-camera speeches by HIAS's European Director, Louis Neikrug, and narrator Raymond Massey, a popular screen and stage actor. The script was by playwright Arnold Perl, identified by a HIAS press release as the "winner of the 1947 Variety Award for Radio Writing," and the musical score by Harry Glass. The film's credits identify a few other personnel, but not the cast.⁴

The film opens with a rendition of *Zog nit keynmol*, the Jewish Partisans' Hymn (sung by an unidentified vocalist), and title cards that name the film and state its purpose: "Placing the Displaced... Depicting the HIAS program for reunifying and resettling the War Scattered Jews of the world—the Displaced Persons." Newsreel footage follows of Europe in ruins, piles of dead concentration camp prisoners, and starving survivors fighting over potatoes. Narrator Raymond Massey tells viewers that there is

nothing more starkly tragic than the lives of the men, the women, the children, whose past is a horror and whose future a question. There is nothing on earth like the problem of the DP.

The scene shifts to an office with a large map on the wall, where Louis Neikrug elaborates on the DP problem. At the end of his talk, he holds up the photo i.d. card of Sam Miller, a Jewish refugee from Warsaw who, with his family, is to constitute the main subject of the film.⁵ Massey intones, "This is Sam Miller. Look at him and believe in miracles—for he is a Jew in Europe, and he is alive." The voice-over narration informs us that Miller and his wife survived Auschwitz and Dachau, that their eldest son was killed resisting arrest, and that their younger children were hidden by "friendly Gentiles."

Sam and his family are shown in the crowded barracks of a DP camp, writing a letter to HIAS to request their assistance in

locating an uncle in New York. Scenes filmed in New York show HIAS staffers getting in touch with the uncle, who comes to the organization's Manhattan headquarters at 425 Lafayette Street to sign an affidavit on behalf of the Miller family.

The central segments of the film depict the Miller family, assisted by HIAS, going through the various bureaucratic stages required for emigration: receiving news of the uncle's affidavit, applying for an American immigration quota number, going through security and medical checks, receiving their visas, and eventually boarding a ship and arriving in America. There is an emotional reunion with the uncle at New York Harbor and Sam's HIAS document is stamped "PLACED."

Placing the Displaced was distributed free of charge to synagogues, veterans' groups, sisterhoods, *landmanshaftn*, and other, mostly Jewish community organizations. Preprinted postcards filled in and sent back by local organizers suggest that audience size ranged from 40 to 200 in cities that included Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Baltimore, Maryland. The cards also indicate that HIAS representatives sometimes accompanied the film. An undated, typed list found in the same file lists 72 communities where the film was shown, including foreign countries such as Cuba and Australia. A 1949 article in *Rescue* claimed that the film had been seen by "over half a million" viewers within eight months after its release. Letters and postcards praising the film were kept on file at HIAS.⁶

The film was also shown in seven Warner Bros. theaters in the Philadelphia area and in at least 18 theaters on the Interboro Circuit in New York during 1948-49 (*Rescue* 1949). At the Princess Theater in Philadelphia, it was shown as a "special added attraction" to the main feature, Meyer Levin's documentary, *The Illegal*, about illegal immigration to Palestine.⁷ In 1948 or 1949, *Placing the Displaced* was broadcast on television in a prime-time slot as a CBS public affairs feature on Monday, June 14.⁸

Docudrama as Propaganda

Why did HIAS choose what we now call "docudrama" to present its message? Like other HIAS public relations efforts, *Placing the Displaced* combined a political agenda—the sympathetic portrayal of Jewish refugees—with a practical goal—the awakening of public support for HIAS's activities. Unfortunately, little documentation regarding HIAS's motivations for producing the film or information about other circumstances associated with its creation appears to have survived in HIAS archives.

As Erik Barnouw and other media historians note, the years right after World War II saw an increase in the U.S. of the production of short industrial or organizational films aimed at influencing "the climate of ideas" among an audience of churchgoers, school children, and club members (Barnouw 1983:219). HIAS was part of this trend. But the idea that film was an appropriate means of overtly imparting a political message had not always been in favor with the American public. As William Stott notes, "propaganda" had become a dirty word with large segments of

the American public during the 1930s, when excessive use of propaganda by political extremists associated with Fascism and Stalinism had discredited the genre (1986:128).

However, it was just this politicization of documentary that set the stage for the reeducation of American audiences during World War II, when the U.S. War Department went into the business of producing films to boost soldiers' morale and to create civilian support for the war effort. Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series is the best-known example of this genre. Hollywood also produced dramatic films that sought to evoke emotional identification with Washington's war aims. British author Derek Paget suggests that these films, as well as newsreels, whetted the public's appetite for "photo-news." *Placing the Displaced*, therefore, reached a public already familiar with the notion of "political documentary." (1990:33)

Placing the Displaced's mixture of actuality footage and dramatic reconstruction, or "docudrama," was likewise not an innovation. The use of re-creation in documentary has roots in the very beginning of the genre, when "actuality films" of the Spanish-American War in 1898 reenacted battle scenes for the camera, or in Robert Flaherty's seminal *Nanook of the North* (1922), in which the Inuit Nanook performed hunting and other activities solely for the benefit of the film. During the 1930s, films such as *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, commissioned by the Resettlement Administration, a New Deal agency, combined documentary camerawork with Hollywood stock footage and a majestic score by Virgil Thomson, and "helped condition audiences for something beyond the mere recording or editing of reality." (Hoffer 1985:184-85)

Newsreels also paved the way for acceptance of docudrama. *The March of Time* newsreel series, begun in 1935, made regular use of remnants of events by professional actors, and used "intense narrators, known as the 'Voice of Time.'" (Hoffer: 185:185) Moreover, as film historian Jack C. Ellis notes, during the decade following the end of World War II, American documentaries made increased use of fictional devices, even as makers of fictional films were "drawn toward a tradition of exposé which had need for a kind of fiction filmmaking that stayed close to actuality." A postwar realist trend considered social problems as apt subjects for feature films.

Fictional films "with documentary tendencies" and a social agenda included *The Naked City* (1948), a story about a police homicide squad at work in New York City, and *The Lost Weekend* (1945) about an alcoholic (Ellis 1989:165, 156). In fact, the techniques of docudrama were less controversial with audiences of the 1940s than with viewers today.⁹

The Human Dimension

As the fiction film drew toward the documentary style, plot and character became less developed (Ellis 1989). Conversely, as the documentary drew toward the fictional style, the individual protagonist became an important part of the presentation. Like other documentarians, the makers of *Placing the Displaced* strove

to create audience identification with its subject. As one HIAS form letter bragged, *Placing the Displaced* is "not a typical 'dry' historical documentary dealing in generalities. It is the story of a family, a single family."¹⁰ The film itself ends with an on-camera appeal from Massey:

What of the tens of thousands of other Sam Millers?... Do not think of numbers—tens of thousands—think rather of people, of individuals with flesh and wounds and blood and hope—or otherwise we are blinded by numbers.... And so now, more than ever, HIAS calls upon its supporters, asks for your help in the complex and costly work of immigration to freedom. For in our hearts each of us knows that in Sam Miller, but for the grace of God, there go I. And knowing this, how can we not act?

Other HIAS publicity also strives to present the DP in individualized terms. Fragmentary materials related to the HIAS Public Relations Department allow us to locate the film in the context of other HIAS publicity activities. Routine activities included press releases about particularly appealing or photogenic refugees (referred to as "protoges" in internal memos), usually timed to coincide with their arrival in United States ports. The releases stressed the lachrymose aspects of the refugees' circumstances and often involved reunions between parents and children. *Placing the Displaced* itself dwells on the emigration and resettlement of couples with children (dressed up for the camera in American-style striped t-shirts) and culminates in a family reunion between Sam and his uncle. Viewers and readers were asked to forget political considerations and to think of needy foreigners in "human terms."¹¹

DPs and the Cold War: Delayed Pilgrims

Though HIAS strove to cloak the politically thorny DP issue in the innocuous guise of human interest stories, they did not entirely succeed in depoliticizing the topic nor avoid addressing American fears about foreigners. In *Placing the Displaced*, this is evinced by the film's preoccupation with process. The rigorosity of the medical and political examinations that Sam Miller and his family undergo is stressed to allay concerns that spies or people incapable of supporting themselves could slip through cracks in the screening process. The fear that groups of refugees might harbor spies had been fomented in the late 1930s-'40s by immigration restrictionists in the State Department, who had gone so far as to suggest that HIAS itself was "actually an espionage agency" serving Hitler (Feingold 1970: 129). The concern about the health of prospective immigrants addressed worries that newcomers might become public charges. It also appears to echo the eugenic concerns of earlier immigration battles, in which Southern and Eastern European immigrants were branded as physically and mentally defective.

Nervousness in the face of Cold War anti-Communism is manifest in the emphasis on patriotism in the radio plays and films, as well as in organizational literature. A climactic moment in the HIAS film is the encounter between the arriving immigrants and the Statue of Liberty. The Millers are depicted on shipboard gazing at the Statue, as an instrumental version of "America the Beautiful" swells on the soundtrack and Raymond Massey narrates, "When they saw her—the statue—they could almost hear the words engraved upon her base by another Jew, 'Send me your tired, your poor....'" Indeed, it appears that hardly any pro-DP writer could resist the Statue of Liberty motif; similar scenes appear in several of the radio programs sponsored by USNA and other organizations. The Statue of Liberty offered American Jewish organizations an apt symbol for the conflation of American and Jewish history. These organizations also made other attempts to recast postwar Jewish immigration to the U.S. in the mold of American history by likening the refugees to the Pilgrims on board the Mayflower and even, in one episode of *Eternal Light*, to Native Americans crossing the Bering Strait!¹²

In the years 1948-'49, there were attempts by some DP advocates to change what the initials "DP" stood for to something more upbeat than "Displaced Persons" and activists began to refer to the refugees as "Delayed Pilgrims." This public relations gimmick suggested that the Jews and others languishing in the DP camps should be regarded in the context of American immigration history—an unbroken line of migration from oppression beginning with the Mayflower—and advocated the support of open-door immigration policies as being downright American and even patriotic.¹³

Notes

- 1 HIAS was founded in 1909 as a result of a merger of the Hebrew Sheltering House Association (1884) and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (1902) to provide emigration and resettlement assistance to Jewish immigrants.
- 2 By April 1947, William G. Stratton, Jr., Republican congressman from Illinois, had introduced a bill calling for the admittance of 400,000 DPs in the U.S. within four years. In 1948 the Stratton Bill, preferred by pro-DP organizations, was eclipsed by two proposed Senate bills, both of which called for allowing 200,000 refugees into the U.S. within two years. The less liberal of the two bills, which mandated 22 December 1945 as the cut-off date by which refugees had to have entered the U.S. zones in Europe in order to qualify for the quota, was passed by both the House and Senate as the Displaced Persons Act in June 1948. It was denounced by Jewish organizations as discriminatory against Jewish refugees, many of whom had reached U.S. zones only in 1947 or 1948. In 1950, largely due to their protests, the Displaced Persons Act was amended to extend for another year and change the cut-off date to 1 January 1949.
- 3 A number of these films have been collected by the Film and Video Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.
- 4 Press release, n.d., in the YIVO Archives (RG 105, Folder F160).

- 5 Who were the Millers? Were these their real names? No documentation on the couple has yet been located. They appear not to have been professional actors, and indeed, a typed itemized budget for *Placing the Displaced* in the YIVO Archives (RG 105) has no line which would indicate that wages were paid to cast members. (There is also no line for Raymond Massey, who may have donated his services as narrator.) The fact that the family was filmed on location in both Munich and New York suggests that they actually were DPs who agreed to perform segments of their immigration process for the camera.
- 6 Postcards and letters, YIVO Archives (RG 105).
- 7 Photograph of marquee at Princess Theater in Philadelphia, YIVO Archives (RG 250.4). It is perhaps not so surprising that *Placing the Displaced* was booked at so many theaters, considering that, in the era before most people had television sets, cinematic journalism was presented to the public in the form of newsreels at movie theaters.
- 8 Press release, n.d., YIVO Archives (RG 105, Folder F160).
- 9 Recent use of docudrama techniques on network news shows and in feature films such as Errol Morris's *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) and Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1992) have proved controversial with critics and viewers.
- 10 Mimeographed form letter, 17 November 1948, YIVO Archives (RG 105, Folder F160).
- 11 HIAS was not alone among pro-DP organizations in "hiding" political issues under the bushel of human interest. USNA's DP-related radio plays also tended to present the case for DPs in terms of family drama. For example, see *Reunion* (a *This Is Your Life*-type series which reunited survivors with loved ones), YIVO Archives (RG 115, 17).
- 12 YIVO Archives (RG 115, 25.01-25.02). Significantly, HIAS press releases made prominent mention of the fact that Raymond Massey, narrator of *Placing the Displaced*, had "endeared himself to millions by his portrayal of Abraham Lincoln" in an earlier Hollywood film.
- 13 See *Delayed Pilgrims: Dinner and Freedom Train: Delayed Pilgrims* of 1948/49, YIVO Archives (RG115, 17.51-17.52 and 26.01A).

References

- Barnouw, Erik. 1983. *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Naomi W. 1972. *Not Free to Desist: A History of the American Jewish Committee, 1906-1966*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
- Dinnerstein, Leonard S. 1982. *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ellis, Jack C. 1989. *The Documentary Idea: A Critical History of English-Language Documentary Film and Video*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Feingold, Henry. 1970. *The Politics of Rescue*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday & Company.
- Hoffer, Thomas W. et al. 1985. *TV Genres: A Handbook and Reference Guide*. Edited by Brian G. Rose. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.
- Paget, Derek. 1990. *True Stories? Documentary Drama on Radio, Screen and Stage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Rescue*. January 1949.
- Stott, William. 1986. *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- White, Lyman. 1957. *300,000 New Americans: The Epic of a Modern Immigrant-Aid Service*. New York: Harper.
- Wischnitzer, Mark. 1955. *Visas to Freedom: The History of HIAS*. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company.

Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Ethnographer

Devorah S. Sperling and Jeffrey Shandler

During the past decade, Jewish learning entered the computer age. In 1982, few might have foreseen the explosion in personal computer technology, desktop publishing, and electronic communications that would follow the publication of Davka Corporation's first Judaic catalog, which listed 26 software products—mainly entertaining games and primitive Hebrew graphics tools—for the Apple II, the TRS-80 and the Atari 800. Today the software available for the personal computer ranges from a Chanukkah coloring book to compendia of Judaic classical literature in CD-ROM format. Computer technology now figures in many Jewish homes, schools, synagogues and libraries, facilitating access to a wide spectrum of subjects, ideologies and levels of Jewish study. For the Jewish folklorist and ethnographer, the transformation from print to electronic media in general, and the creation of computerized educational materials in particular, pose compelling questions about the changing nature of transmission, learning and cultural creativity. This article raises some of these questions and provides some resources for continuing discussions.

Perusing the pages of catalogs published by Davka Corporation and Kabbalah Software,¹ two companies that specialize in Judaic software, demonstrates the wide range of Jewish educational materials now available for use on the personal computer. These include

- fonts, graphics, and composition programs for the Jewish-language word-processor and desk-top publisher.
- database management programs for facilitating synagogue or religious school administration, such as MacShammes 4D, which includes a "Yahrzeit Module" (that converts Hebrew to Roman calendar dates, prepares *yahrzeit* lists and prints customized notices), an "Optional Cemetery Module," as well as handling membership and accounts receivable.
- Judaica resources in two formats—magnetic ("floppy") disc or CD-ROM, including sacred texts (Bible, Talmud, Rashi commentaries, Zohar, Shulhan Aruch, etc.), Hebrew dictionaries, encyclopedias, calendars, cook-books, etc.
- educational programs, designed to teach how to read or speak Hebrew, study the Bible or Talmud, learn Jewish history, Bible stories, geography of Israel, holidays and prayers, etc.

Software in each of these categories raises intriguing questions for the Jewish ethnographer. How do various graphics programs, for example, embody a modern Jewish iconography? How does placing sacred texts on computer-read formats transform the traditional canon of Jewish holy books? How do educational programs make use of the element of play (whether in the idiom of traditional Jewish education or of contemporary computerese) in creating such learning programs as "Catch a Hamantash," "Dreidels and Dinosaurs," or "Jewish IQ Baseball"? How do simulation games that teach history by situating the user as a Spanish Jew in 1492 or a Polish Jew in Warsaw, 1939 ("Your goal: simply to survive") transform conventional notions of historical narrative?

Keeping track of the appearance of new programs and resources is itself a challenge. Among those studying religious educational software is Robert Kraft of the University of Pennsylvania, who writes a column on computing in religious studies called OFFLINE (accessible through the gopher.upenn.edu gateway). Kraft recommends John J. Hughes, *Bits, Bytes and Biblical Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987) as a "treasure trove for older stuff,"² and also suggests following more recent developments documented in *The Humanities Computing Yearbook*, published by Oxford University Press.

Another scholar studying this phenomenon is Michael Fraser, of the University of Durham. In a recent e-mail interview we asked Fraser, who, like Kraft, tracks the use of computers in religious studies at the university level, to comment on the kind of pedagogical experience computer materials and activities offer students and teachers. He replied that while many programs "make claims to be interactive, [they] predefine the limits of the interaction. The inclusion of one piece of information to the exclusion of another still ensures that there are boundaries to the learning of the subject it presents. The traditional tutorial or seminar is more truly interactive in the flexibility of agenda which arises from the input of both student and teacher."³

Indeed, the presence of a computer in (or instead of) the classroom cannot help but transform the educational process, whether it is the highly ritualized format of a traditional *gemora shiur* or the seeming free-for-all of a progressive Jewish nursery school. Some educational software programs attempt to simulate the give-and-take of the conventions of an oral, teacher-centered classroom environment. For example, "Divide and Conquer," a Hebrew grammar teaching tool with an audio component is reminiscent of experimental modular learning that one of us experienced in junior high school—except here, in addition to

hearing the sounds of the Hebrew, there is a voice that tells the user "Nice!" when he or she gives the right answer.

While computers may be no match for the flexibility of the oral tradition, they can outstrip even the most erudite of scholars with their abilities to recall, sort and index information. The advent of computerized holy books has, according to one of our colleagues, made traditional rabbinical erudition "obsolete." Of course, it hasn't—even though computers can routinely make the most comprehensive of cross-referencing searches in a matter of seconds, this mechanical facility is no substitute for the informed, selective, comparative analysis of a literate and experienced scholar. On the other hand, the computerization of sacred texts will undoubtedly transform the nature of traditional rabbinic erudition. With the text of the Talmud on CD-ROM, for example, the traditional layout of the *blat*—refined over generations and standardized by the publishing house of Romm in Vilna in the 19th century—no longer gives visual form and meaning to the text. Computers will not render erudition obsolete, but they may make the pin test a thing of the past.⁴

In at least one instance, Jewish educational software has been publicly approved by a traditional authority. "Torah Scholar"—a hypertext-based study that includes such features as linear translation of Hebrew and English text, "go to" chapter and verse or weekly *parashah* function, instant concordance, *gematria* calculation capabilities, etc.—comes with an endorsement by the Bostoner Rebbe. Kabbalah writes, in its 1993 Judaic software catalog, that this is "the only computer program we have ever seen that has been endorsed by a major rabbinic authority." In an interview, the Rebbe explained his position on the use of computers in Jewish learning by drawing an analogy to the traditional Friday night *tish* in Hasidic courts. The *tish*, he says, was an early instrument of learning, a Hasidic innovation, where the people learned by imitating the Rebbe—how to handle *hallah*, wash hands, and the order of *zmiros*. The framework of the Shabbos meal was a study program—in effect, "the first audio-visual presentation." The computer, according to the Rebbe, is just another tool for teaching and learning Torah.⁵

The computer's ability to perform rapid searches of vast amounts of material also facilitates a remarkable nexus between modern technology and the Jewish mystical tradition. Both Davka and Kabbalah offer search programs that facilitate "delv[ing] into the fascinating world of hidden code searches, to find new meanings and relationships in the Torah." Unlike most other software programs, which lead the user down a predetermined pedagogical path, these facilitate creative exploration of scriptures that is very much shaped by the imagination of the user.

As it moves speedily from ancient languages to computer languages, the computerization of Jewish scholarship creates other connections between technology and spirituality; these, in turn, raise more questions for the ethnographer and folklorist. For example, are computer-readable copies of scripture analogous to handwritten or printed versions? If so, are they to be treated as potential *shemoi*? Is erasing or crashing a sacred text contain-

ing God's name the equivalent of destroying the same text printed in book form? Should damaged copies of, say, the Bible on a floppy disc, be placed in a *genizah*? And how will this question be debated—will the traditional process of *hakhgahah* be transformed by establishing a computerized responsa network? Computers may have as great an impact on the culture of Jewish learning as did the advent of the printed book—or, indeed, of writing.

Notes

- 1 Davka Corporation, 7074 N. Western Avenue, Chicago, IL 60645; telephone: 800-621-8227, Kabbalah Software, 8 Prince Drive, Edison, NJ 08817; telephone: 908-572-0891; fax: 908-572-0869.
- 2 E-mail letter from Robert Kraft to Jeffrey Shandler, 17 November 1993.
- 3 E-mail letter from Michael A. Fraser to Jeffrey Shandler, 2 December 1993.
- 4 The pin test has been employed in Ashkenazic yeshivas as an unofficial means of gauging a scholar's knowledge of the Talmud. A volume of the Talmud is opened to a page at random, and a pin is stuck through the page. The scholar being tested must name the word through which the pin passes on the succeeding pages, demonstrating his command both of the text and of its placement within the composition of the *blat*.
- 5 Interview with Bostoner Rebbe by Deborah S. Sperling: Boston, 9 November 1993.

Computers and the *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*: The 1960s

Andrew Sunshine

This is an account of the introduction of computer methods into a large-scale dialectological study of Yiddish and Ashkenazic culture in the early 1960s.¹ After an overview of the purpose, design, and partial accomplishments of the project to date, I turn to consider the ways in which computers were used to enhance the project's design and achieve some of its aims and discuss the problem of the source of inspiration for this application of computers. This part of the account draws on Uriel Weinreich's succinct report on "Machine Aids in the Compilation of Linguistic Atlases" to the American Philosophical Society, which provided two grants (1961, 1962) in support of this work.² Finally, I address the question of the implications of computing for the data and the results of the research, and I discuss the current and future uses of computers in the Atlas project.

The *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* (LCAAJ) "represents an attempt to reconstruct the geography of a language and culture dislocated in its historical terrain before the investigation began." (Baviskar 1979:1) One of the chief aims of the project has been to produce a multivolume language and culture atlas of Ashkenaz (with emphasis on the East European Yiddish language area) in the tradition of European geolinguistics, but based on structural principles, as proposed by Uriel Weinreich in his landmark essay "Is A Structural Dialectology Possible?" (1954). However, Weinreich did not regard this as the "ultimate goal of the study," but rather as "a tool for further studies."³ Weinreich's larger intentions are reflected in the actual title of the investigation: "Geographic Differentiation in Coterritorial Societies."

While it has taken many years to begin the publication of the Atlas,⁴ the project's work has led to many dissertations and monographs, notably Herzog 1965, Wolf 1969, Kiefer 1990, and (in the realm of folkloristics) Schwartz 1969, as well as numerous articles (e.g., FølYll and Ill). All of these studies have been based on the archive of recorded Yiddish speech established by the project. Quite apart from its scholarly value to students of the language, culture, and history of Ashkenazic Jewry, and to anthropologists, folklorists, and linguists in general, this archive is of immense significance to Jewish culture since it is the most comprehensive record we will ever have of the geographic variety of Modern Yiddish, the vernacular of perhaps some ten million Ashkenazic Jews during the period represented by the data.

Between 1959 and 1972, LCAAJ fieldworkers conducted interviews with Yiddish speakers from 603 systematically-chosen locations, mostly in Eastern and Central Europe, but also in Western Europe, and from the old Ashkenazic communities in Safed and Jerusalem.⁵ Some 6,000 interview hours were thus

preserved on tape. In addition, fieldworkers recorded responses on the spot in a special phonetic transcription on some 100,000 pages. These tapes and transcripts, along with hundreds of hand-drawn maps form the core of the LCAAJ archive.

The vehicle for the interviews was the Standard Master Questionnaire (SMQ), which contains some 3,245 questions (principally in Yiddish). Abridgments of the SMQ were introduced to factor out questions which were irrelevant for various regions. Two brief questionnaires (in German) were also introduced for use with many of the Western Yiddish informants. Thus, depending on the questionnaire used, interviews lasted from 2.5 to 15 hours.⁶

Interview questions were organized by various themes or cultural domains (e.g., the body, cuisine, marriage, death, festivals), because one of the aims of the fieldwork was to collect information (linguistic and otherwise) about these subjects. However, the questions were also designed to elicit responses relevant to one or more of a set of latent problems explored by Weinreich, in anticipation of the Atlas investigation.⁷ Designing questions in this manner ensures that the "questionnaire... will strike directly at the relevant features of the dialects, rather than merely providing a corpus of forms in which later analysis would, with luck, have to find these features." (Weinreich 1958)

As an object of dialectological research, Yiddish is somewhat peculiar. For example, it has existed side by side with diverse languages as well as dialects of individual languages. Consequently, it offers an unusual opportunity for pursuing bilingual dialectology, i.e., the study of geographic fragmentation in the languages and cultures of two societies occupying the same territory (LCAAJ 1:1-2). Such study is significant because it provides a stronger way of testing hypotheses about the role of non-linguistic factors (e.g., physical and political barriers) in this fragmentation.

The major catastrophe of 20th century Jewish history has also rendered Yiddish a peculiar object of dialectological study. The Holocaust and the displacement of the surviving European Yiddish speakers in its aftermath have compelled the project to collect its data representing the various locations thousands of miles from those locations. To the best of my knowledge, a study of language and culture "at a distance" (Mead and Meirauz 1953) on this scale had never before been made.⁸ Of course, the circumstances which forced upon the project these less-than-optimal conditions for collecting data also made it a matter of the greatest urgency to conduct the fieldwork while European-born Yiddish informants were still alive.

Computers in the *LCAAJ*: Sources, Conception, Implementation

That the *LCAAJ* is an innovative project has long been recognized, but for reasons other than its use of computers. Computers appear to have been a peripheral interest and may have been introduced originally on an experimental and contingent basis. A casual examination of the literature suggests that Weinreich's use of computers was rather different from that of other linguists in the early 1960s. After Warren Weaver's 15 July 1949 memorandum on machine translation (reprinted in Locke and Booth 1955), this subject became "one of the major interests of theoretical linguists" [in the 1950s] "and got considerable financial support from various government agencies." (Koerner 1989:122) A second important application of computers in the 1950s and 1960s was automatic linguistic analysis, i.e., design of "a computer program which, given as input a body of text, will produce as output a linguistic description of the system of the natural language which is represented by the text." (Garvin 1964:78, 1962:388)⁹

While Weinreich himself would characterize his efforts at computerized dialectology as "pioneering," there was at least one language geography project in this period which also used computers in a manner that resembles, and perhaps anticipates, that of the *LCAAJ*. This is Atwood's *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*, which was published in 1962, by which time Weinreich was already well into the implementation of the computer rationale he had worked out at least a year earlier. The relevance of Atwood (1962) is hard to assess here, in part because the author does not clearly indicate the dates for the study. Evidently the Texas questionnaire was completed by some point in 1950 when Atwood's students began to administer it. However, Atwood does not say when the data-processing of his project was computerized, although it seems probable that it preceded the computerization of the *LCAAJ*.¹⁰ We might, in that case, wonder whether Weinreich knew of Atwood's work prior to its publication or whether the source of inspiration or the precedent should be sought in proposals, discussions, or actual applications yet to be unearthed.

Evidently, Weinreich's thinking on this subject was facilitated by his friend Mendel Hoffman, a specialist in the use of computers in the social sciences who in the early 1960s was a consultant at the Institute of Psychological Research at Teachers College (Columbia University) and eventually worked as a computer consultant to the *Atlas* project. Hoffman reports that in their frequent discussions, Weinreich would pick his brain about the application of computers in research in the humanities and the social sciences. He, Hoffman, would refer Weinreich to the current literature. Hoffman does not, however, recall any clear link between these discussions and the idea of computerizing parts of the work on the *Atlas*.

Whether or not the *Atlas* can lay claim to being the first attempt by American linguists at a computerized dialectology, correspondence in the *Atlas* archives shows that this attempt

certainly intrigued other linguists with an active interest in language geography and dialectology. Thus, in accepting Weinreich's invitation to referee his application to the American Philosophical Society for funds in support of the use of computers to compile the *LCAAJ*, William Moulton wrote to Weinreich that "... the possibility of experimenting with an IBM machine is something which could be of great use to all of us" (letter of 19 June 1961). Three years later (27 June 1964), Roger Shuy, then at Indiana University at Bloomington, wrote to Weinreich for information on the use of computers for language geography. Weinreich replied (29 June 1964) by inviting Shuy to visit the *Atlas* in New York.

By 1961, when Weinreich began to introduce computer methods into the project, he had already devoted several years to planning, preliminary fieldwork, bibliographic research, and the outlining of dialectological problems. According to Weinreich's 1961 application for access to the facilities of the Watson Computer Laboratory at Columbia University, "... the use of computing equipment was not specifically foreseen when the project proposal was drafted." And indeed, prior to this time, his applications for support from various agencies and foundations make no reference to the use of computers. Rather than any change in the *Atlas* project itself, it may have been Weinreich's larger intention to investigate "geographic differentiation in coterritorial societies" (for which the *LCAAJ* constituted a research phase or tool) that compelled him to the view that such research "must draw on computer aid almost of necessity." (ibid.)

But with due respect for Weinreich's vision and the manner in which it was implemented,¹¹ the computers were used basically for the bookkeeping of a massive corpus of language-data. There was nothing intrinsically "linguistic" or "dialectological" about the procedures performed on the data (sorting, merging, filing, and so forth); the programs in no respect were designed to mimic linguistic analysis, rather to place data at the disposal of such analysis. (Garvin [1962] might characterize this as the first [of three] degrees of "computer participation in linguistic research.") Even the attempt to computerize the drawing of maps (see below) appears to have offered mainly the possibility of storing and retrieving coordinates and plotting patterns laboriously worked out on paper by the dialectologists.

As a consequence of reviewing the published descriptions and the archival record of the computer processing of the *Atlas* data, the lay computer user (e.g., the author of this article) suddenly finds new meaning in that vacant, smiley-faced locution "user-friendly." The handful of services that the IBM 1401 and 7090 computers could provide came at the expense of considerable tedious manual labor to conform the data to the machine's limitations.

Transcription. For the most part, though, these adaptations—however strange they might appear at first glance—were "structure-preserving transformations." This is easiest to see in the phonetic transcription system devised by Weinreich and Herzog in 1961 to replace the IPA-based system that the project originally used in the field. The system was designed to cater to

the limitations of the IBM keyboard, which placed a mere 47 ciphers at the user's fingertips, a much smaller number than the IPA phonetic alphabet contains. For example, č , š , ž were not available on the IBM keyboard, but could easily be transposed into the following combinations: C+, S+, Z+.¹² Thus, *žuk* 'beetle, bug' would be rendered Z+UK. The new system was, in short, basically identical to the IPA alphabet, except for its visual appearance.

Coding. Interview transcripts were reviewed by editors for "material that might be relevant not to the question being answered, but to other problems of interest to the investigation, or to other localities than the one from which an informant originates" (from a mimeographed set of data processing instructions written by Weinreich and dated 20 June 1962). This was especially important since interviews contain spontaneously offered material that occurs "out of sequence," so to speak. Such responses would be marked by the editors with a cross-reference symbol; and duplicate records, for filing at all appropriate places, would be created once the data were transferred from the punched cards to magnetic tape.

Key Punching and Card-to-Tape Transfer. About half of the more-than-600 interviews were edited, keypunched, and fed into an IBM 1401 computer. Having data recorded in the special phonetic transcription simplified the key-punching process. Each cipher in a transcribed response was transformed into "a particular arrangement of holes in a vertical column" on the punched card (Weinreich 1963:622). The punch cards included the following types of information, each of which created possibilities for organizing and reorganizing the data.

- (a) [In columns 1-5:] The five-digit interview number: the interview number corresponds to the location number, which is composed of digits identifying its longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates on the map
- (b) [In columns 6-11:] The six-digit number identifying questions in the SMQ (e.g., 001020 = page 1 of the SMQ, position number 20 on that page).
- (c) [In columns 12-70:] The response to the question (supplemented by editorial notations). Procedures for handling answers too long to fit on one card are specified.

The IBM 1401 transferred the information on the punch card to magnetic tape in virtually the same form (a space would be inserted between the last digit of the page-question number and the first cipher in the response) and in the transfer process created duplicate records, wherever cross-reference symbols appeared.

The tape was then fed into an IBM 7090 along with the following kinds of sorting instructions. One instruction was to file duplicate records under their cross-reference headings. This yielded extended interview transcripts where randomly-offered material is listed under appropriate headings, and thereby is

retrievable. A second instruction resulted in the merger of all the processed interviews so that parallel answers to each question are listed in geographic order. "The computer thus produced... a worksheet for the cartographer." (Weinreich 1963:624) In addition to location/interview number, page-question number, and ID problem number, other criteria for sorting included alphabetical order (for a "dictionary").

Computerized Map-making. Dr. Meyer Wolf and Wita Ravid also applied their computational skills to the problem of automated map-making. However, unlike the other types of data processing which have yielded a library of printouts on which much subsequent research has relied, their work on this problem never went beyond the stage of experimentation.¹³ My impression from material in the archives (and supported by a recollection from Beatrice Silverman Weinreich) is that the computerized map-making was abandoned because it proved to be too laborious.

Implications

To the extent that the project accomplished the computer processing of the interview transcripts, the *Atlas* was equipped with a relatively rapid, thorough means of accessing, sorting, classifying, and rearranging large quantities of data. While the processing of the data was labor-intensive, the consequence was (in theory) that many sorts of high-quality data records could be assembled with a modicum of effort for a specific research purpose.

Beyond these objectives, it is difficult to discuss the implications of computers for the data or the research results since there are other factors that more profoundly shape dialectological data in general and in this project in particular. For instance, it might appear as though a database structure favors the largely taxonomic treatment of linguistic data in the *LCAAJ* (i.e., there is an emphasis on whatever is presumed to be segmentable in language—lexical items, phonemes—and somewhat less emphasis on syntax, and virtually none on intonation, discourse or pragmatics). However, we know that many of these categories of research had been specified in advance of plans to computerize. Furthermore, a glance at language atlases and at linguistics in general over the last century would reveal a tendency to favor the study of segments in a linear string (whether this string is a word or a sentence).¹⁴

Indeed, the implications of computers for linguistic data are much weaker than—or are merely an elaboration of—the implications of writing, upon which depends the possibility of linguistics as we know it, if not of all linguistic speculation. A written transcription of speech, no matter how narrow, transforms a continuous acoustic event in time into a segmented visual event in space, a linear sequence on a page. The "data" that the project computerized in the early 1960s were very much artifacts of transcription, notwithstanding the checking of transcripts against tape-recordings.¹⁵ The fact that the IBM keyboard "dictated" the visual appearance of the transcription system (though not the system itself), while striking, is of secondary importance.

Computers are playing an integral and ever greater role in the current and projected work of the *LCAAJ*, thanks to the interest and expertise of Robert Neumann, Director of Computing Activities at the Institut für deutsche Sprache (Mannheim). In 1991, Neumann introduced microcomputers and desktop publishing software to expedite the editing and production of manuscripts of volumes of the *LCAAJ*. He has also, since 1991, been computerizing the map-making processes by stages. Building on the foundation laid by Weinreich and colleagues in the 1960s, Neumann has drafted an ambitious plan to transform the *Atlas*'s archive of taped interviews, transcriptions, maps, and other materials into an on-line electronic archival database which would completely realize the multiple possibilities for sorting, indexing, and accessing for all of the data as Weinreich intended (see Neumann, i.p.). These plans, for which the project is currently seeking funding, also include the creation of resources that could hardly have been dreamed of in 1961: e.g., an on-line electronic archive of tapes and transcripts (spliced together, as it were) and of publications based on *Atlas* data.

Notes

- 1 I wish to thank Professor Marvin I. Herzog, Director and Editor-in-Chief of the *LCAAJ*, for placing relevant materials at my disposal. I also wish to thank him, Beatrice Silverman Weinreich, and Mendel Hoffman for patiently answering my questions regarding the computerization of the *Atlas*. They are in no way responsible for any inaccuracies in the present account.
- 2 Weinreich 1963; this report will appear as Chapter II of *LCAAJ* II.
- 3 Weinreich's request of 22 February 1961 for access to the facilities of the Watson Scientific Computing Laboratory at Columbia University.
- 4 *LCAAJ* I appeared in 1992; Volume II of the *LCAAJ* is expected to appear in the fall of 1994; Volumes III and IV should be published shortly thereafter.
- 5 An additional interview was conducted as late as 1974.
- 6 On the construction of the questionnaire and the relationships between the various questionnaires and abridged questionnaires, see the introductions to *LCAAJ* I and II.
- 7 Weinreich explored these problems in the two writings (one in English, one in Yiddish) which constitute the "Outlines of Yiddish (Descriptive) Dialectology" (*OYDID*), published as Chapter IV of *LCAAJ* I (see also Weinreich 1991 for the Yiddish text). The outline of these issues is called the "Index to the Dialectology" (or *ID*) (see *LCAAJ* II, Chapter V). The relationships between the interview questions and the topics of the *ID* are made explicit in the two indexes which compose Chapter VI of *LCAAJ* II.
- 8 The proof of the reliability of the responses collected under these circumstances was that when responses were plotted on maps, clearly defined boundaries between linguistic or cultural features consistently emerged.
- 9 I provide this background to show how difficult it is to fathom the intellectual sources for the sort of computing introduced to the *LCAAJ*. It is also of interest because one of the key figures in machine translation and automatic linguistic analysis in the 1950s and 1960s was Paul Garvin. Garvin had done research on Hungarian Yiddish beginning in the early 1940s as an *aspirantur* at YIVO under Max Weinreich's direction, which he continued on and off through the late 1950s at least (Garvin 1965:93n; Garvin here credits Max Weinreich with introducing him to linguistics). This research was published in *FoY* II, edited by Uriel Weinreich. There is nothing to suggest, however, that Weinreich ever consulted Garvin about the use of computers for the *LCAAJ*; nor does one receive the impression from browsing among Garvin's extensive writings on computational linguistics that he ever applied himself to the problems of using computers in dialectological research *per se*.
- 10 It should be noted that the Texas project involved a much smaller number of informants and a much briefer questionnaire than the *LCAAJ* did and was restricted to vocabulary items (i.e., it did not consider variation in phonology, morphology, or syntax). In principle, the *LCAAJ* covers all areas of language, but most especially lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Furthermore, the scope and design of the *LCAAJ* reflects an engagement with issues of dialectology and of linguistic theory which is absent in the Texas project.
- 11 By Weinreich himself, and Herzog, Meyer Wolf, and Wita Ravid (of the *Atlas* staff) and technicians at the Watson Computing Lab at Columbia University.
- 12 The keyboard only contained upper-case letters.
- 13 In May 1960, Weinreich had written to Theodore Shabad, a geographer (and a cousin), concerning the problem of filling maps with, "say, 300 geometric symbols, a job too mechanical to qualify as 'cartography' but too exacting to be treated as a secretarial routine (since the maps will presumably be reproduced and published)." Was there, he wanted to know, any technique or equipment for placing symbols in exact locations short of redrawing with "pen, ruler, compasses and ink"? While Weinreich's concern evidently was (at least in part) with producing "camera-ready" versions of maps, perhaps it is fair to see here the kernel for the subsequent experimentation with computer map-making. Incidentally, Shabad in his response wrote, "I'm afraid there is no mechanical way of getting symbols on the map short of using ink [i.e., short of drawing them by hand] or paste-up symbols."
- 14 Such entities perhaps lend themselves to theoretical perspectives which presume to deal with systems of linguistic features, rather than individual features. It was perhaps with the development of transformational grammar in the early 1960s that syntax became susceptible of systemic treatment.
- 15 The *LCAAJ* transcriptions emphasize by and large phonemic oppositions, rather than exact phonetic detail; this—seemingly—increases the "artificiality" of the data. But all data are artificial to one degree or another, since the researcher's observational instruments, theoretical perspective, and research goals always inform them. The phonemic emphasis in the *Atlas* transcriptions reflects Weinreich's coherent research vision. In any case, there is considerable evidence that the *Atlas* researchers were constantly preoccupied with the problems of how the dialectologist's presence (as interviewers, e.g.) and instruments (e.g., the SMQ) helped to shape the data.

References

- Arwood, E. Bagby. 1962. *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baviskar, Vera. 1979. The Language and Cultural [sic] Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry: Realizing the Design. Paper presented at the [First?] International Conference on Research in Yiddish Language and Literature. Regents Park College, Oxford, England, 6-9 August 1979.
- FoY = *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore, and Literature*. Volume II. Uriel Weinreich, ed. London-The Hague-Paris: Mouton & Co., 1965. Volume III. Marvin I. Herzog, Wita Ravid, and Uriel Weinreich, eds. London-The Hague-Paris: Mouton & Co., 1969.
- Garvin, Paul L. 1962. Computer Participation in Linguistic Research. *Language* 38:385-389.
- _____. 1964. Automatic Linguistic Analysis. A Heuristic Problem. In his *On Linguistic Method: Selected Papers*. The Hague: Mouton, 78-97. [Reprinted from: 1961 *International Conference on Machine Translation and Applied Language Analysis*. London, 655-669.]
- _____. 1965. The Dialect Geography of Hungarian Yiddish. In FoY II, 92-115.
- Herzog, Marvin I. 1965. *The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland: Its Geography and History* [= *International Journal of American Linguistics* 31:2 (April 1965), publication 37]. Bloomington: Indiana; The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Kiefer, Ulrike. 1990. *Interlinguale Sprachgeographie: Distributionale Strukturen im deutsch-jiddischen Kontinuum*. Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University. [English title: Distributional Patterns in the German-Yiddish Language Continuum: A New Approach to Bilingual Dialectology.]
- Koerner, Konrad. 1989. The Chomskyan "Revolution" and Its Historiography (Observations of a Bystander). In his *Practicing Linguistic Historiography: Selected Essays*, pp. 101-146. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- LCAAJ = *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*. Prepared and published under the aegis of an Editorial Collegium: Marvin I. Herzog, Editor-in-Chief, Vera Baviskar, Ulrike Kiefer, Robert Neumann, Wolfgang Putschke, Andrew Sunshine, and Uriel Weinreich. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Volume I: Historical and Theoretical Foundations. Marvin I. Herzog, Uriel Weinreich, and Vera Baviskar, eds. 1992.
- Volume II: Research Tools. Andrew Sunshine, Robert Neumann, Uriel Weinreich, and Beatrice Silverman Weinreich, eds. i.p. [scheduled to appear in 1994].
- Locke, William N. and A. Donald Booth, eds. 1955. *The Machine Translation of Languages*. Cambridge, MA: The Technical Press.
- Mead, Margaret and Rhoda Metraux, eds. 1953. *The Study of Culture at a Distance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Neumann, Robert. i.p. The Computerization of the LCAAJ. LCAAJ/II, Chapter III.
- Schwartz, Rosaline B. 1969. The Geography of Two Food Terms: A Study in Yiddish Lexical Variation. FoY III: 240-266.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1954. Is a Structural Dialectology Possible? In *Linguistics Today*, eds. Andre Martinet and Uriel Weinreich, pp. 268-280. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York. [Postscript added in 1965.]
- _____. 1958. Studies in the Cultural and Linguistic Geography of Central and Eastern European Jewry: Statement of Plans. [Guggenheim Fellowship application, unpublished.]
- _____. 1963. Machine Aids in the Compilation of Linguistic Atlases. *Yearbook of the American Philological Society*, 622-625. [Reprinted in LCAAJ/II as Chapter II.]
- _____. 1991. Roshe-prokim fun a deskriptiver yidisher dialektologie (provizorisher struktureler un leksikalisher indeks tsum Shprakh- un kultur-atlas fun Ashkenazische yidn). YIVO-bleter 1 (new series): 9-68.
- Wolf, Meyer. 1969. The Geography of Yiddish Case and Gender Variation. FoY III: 102-215.

Notes and Queries

Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community

Judith S. Neulander

Two essays by non-folklorists appeared in the last edition of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* (JFER). Both drew profoundly important ethnic distinctions, but both failed to secure or verify the information on which their ethnographic claims were based. Moreover, according to existing literature (which neither author went to), both used demonstrably unfounded ethnic markers to draw imagined ethnic boundaries around ordinary Southwestern Hispanics. Each thus falsely designated a "community" that is supposedly descended from "crypto-Jews." (Levi 1993:138-141; Hordes 1993:137-138) Being currently engaged in research on the popular phenomenon of imagining Southwestern crypto-Jews, I am compelled to express my folkloristic view of the folkloric category to which these essays belong.

Reconstruction of the crypto-Jewish past is a subject of avid folkloric preoccupation in the Southwest, and both authors reflect the fact in their regional locations: Texas and New Mexico. Their essays also reflect classic patterns of spurious cultural canon-formation that are epidemic in the region. Such reconstructions of the past, when expressed as knowledge of crypto-Jewish tradition, became the subject of my doctoral dissertation in the early 1990s.

It was then I learned that over the past several years, a growing number of persons in New Mexico had been claiming privileged knowledge of a secret or "crypto" Jewish tradition, a tradition supposedly extant since Inquisitory times. But the most striking aspect of the phenomenon was that no matter how often these claims were repeated, they continued to meet the standard sociological definition of rumor, as information that remained relentlessly unsecured, unverified and suspect (Rosnow and Fine 1976:11). Hence, I arrived in the Southwest with plans to secure and verify local claims, my research directed at legitimating the canon. But instead, the research unexpectedly exposed the canon as what Goffman calls a body of "fabrication" (1986:84), or in this case, a body of prevarication that tells more about its prevaricators than about the crypto-Jewish past.

Local fabrication is often riddled with transparent self-contradiction, but is most commonly marked by demonstrably unfounded folk etymologies, and by projection of modern ethnic markers onto the remote past. Information is normally discussed as privileged knowledge, yet such knowledge is fully comprised of precritical assumptions, with no further attempt to

secure or verify them in historical, or any other context. Such characteristics typify both essays in the last JFER issue.

Neither of these authors claims descent from the communities they describe. Hence it should be noted that "outsider" motivations to engage in canon-formation can reflect complex Jewish issues, but in general they range anywhere from intellectual curiosity, to commercial cynicism, to romantic naïveté, and various overlappings of the above. By contrast, Hispanic Catholics who claim crypto-Jewish origin frequently engage in what Hayden White calls "ostensive self-definition by negation" (1978:151), in this case, self-definition by negating Mexican national origin (which is to say, *Mestizo*), and other mixed racial origins that comprise the regional mainstream. Thus, a significant number of regional claims to Sephardic descent have distinctly racist features. Medieval Spanish Jews are a potential vehicle for such claims, since they considered themselves congenitally superior to other Jews, as well as to non-Jews, and therefore would marry into neither group (Gutmann 1987:2). Whether or not the term "Jew" still had religious meaning in colonial New Mexico, anyone's refusal to intermarry with so-called non-Christian "races" confounded the Monarchy's imperative to homogenize all indigenous and other colonial "bloods" into Catholic "blood purity" through miscegenation (Anderson 1991:13-14). There is no evidence that any attempts at racial exclusivity succeeded, just by noting the panoply of genotypes within the very families of those who claim crypto-Jewish descent. But racial exclusivity is implied by the marital exclusivity recalled in regional Spanish language folklore (Rael 1957:562), generating the notion that persons of Judeo-Spanish extraction are more clearly "Euro-American" than *Mestizo*. When a reconstruction of the past lacks such continuity with the past, scholarship suggests that it has a more immediate purpose: to serve the present agendas of those who create and subscribe to it (Handler and Saxton 1988:241). Therefore, it appears that a number of Spanish Catholic persons are motivated to establish a current Euro-American (non-*Mestizo*) racial identity by claiming past Jewish origins: the work, in fact, of myth-makers. In their naïve attempt to recreate colonial ethnohistory, however, their postmodern crypto-Jewish bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1966: 16-19) clearly reflects what Peterson Royce calls a "marshalling of symbols" (1982:14) to create an ethnic boundary, what Hobsbawm calls "nation building" through the "invention of

tradition" (1988:1-14), and the equivalent of what Bohlman describes as the "imagined canon" of an "imagined community" (1988:104-120).

Having come upon an imagined crypto-Jewish cultural canon, I was faced with an abundance of spurious claims, and not one authentic claim on which to base any ethnography of crypto-Jewish folklore. This forced me to either revamp the project, or abandon it. I refocused, of necessity, on the motivations, meanings and mechanics of the imagined crypto-Jewish canon that my fieldwork had revealed. In the last JFER edition, Stanley Hordes introduces us to the spurious canon in an essay describing his research project on New Mexican crypto-Judaism (1993: 137-138), a study that, among other things "...will also help New Mexicans today understand the complexity and rich diversity of their Hispanic and Jewish past." (1993:137) But notably, no evidence that New Mexicans have a Judeo-Spanish past is ever secured or verified by Hordes.

Instead, Hordes provides a list naming seven supposed crypto-Jewish cultural items in the New Mexican mainstream. This is evidently enough to inspire public interest, gain notoriety, university sponsorship, historical society endorsement, and to promote Jewish tourism (note a "members only" American Jewish Historical Society tour of the Jewish Southwest, in May 1994, listing foremost among its tour highlights: *Meet descendants of the "Hidden Jews" of the southwest*, at \$1,950 cost per person). Such possibilities abound, it seems, when discourse on crypto-Jews is embedded in legitimating forums such as lecture formats, the media, and the popular press. Such legitimization may also encourage the number of reports and reporters of the canon, which both expands and further legitimates the body of mis- and disinformation in circulation, at least to the extent that a growing consensus may be taken as validation, at the popular level. Unfortunately, spurious canons not only distort, but can contaminate the field beyond recognition, whereby authentic data can be permanently lost. If legitimization of the spurious rarely takes place in a harmless vacuum, this is perhaps the strongest reason to refute it.

Hordes' essay contributes to the spurious canon by listing seven unsecured and unverified cultural items as "manifestations of crypto-Judaism" in New Mexico:

Hispanics from various parts of the state today display such cultural manifestations of crypto-Judaism as lighting candles on Friday night, refraining from eating pork, observing the Sabbath on Saturday, covering mirrors during periods of mourning, practicing male circumcision, playing with a gambling top with letters on four sides, called the *pon y saca*, the "put-in and take-out" top, leaving small pebbles on cemetery headstones of family members, and several other suggestive customs. . . Many of these individuals claim not to be aware of any connection with Judaism. (1993:137)

Almost all of the above cultural items are easily associated with normative Ashkenazi Judaism, although not necessarily with the Sephardi tradition they are meant to represent; others are simply generic European or middle eastern customs that cannot serve as Jewish ethnic markers in any Judeo-Christian-Muslim mainstream, such as that found in New Mexico. Most importantly, all the above are cited with no further attempt to verify their relation to Judaism in local, let alone historical, or any other context. Persons unaware of Judaism in their heritage did not figure in my research, but my extensive work with those who insist on such awareness, and my muscular attempts to secure and verify their claims, indicate that some local reports of Judaic practice are simply false, while a number of reported customs do exist, but with no connection whatsoever to Judaism (and upon reflection, this may explain why so many people are unaware of any).

Confronted by information in such a consistently unsecured and unverified format, the professional ethnographer is at once alerted to commonplace patterns in *folklore*, rather than *folkloristics*. Notably, one is alerted to the distinct possibility that Hordes' claims go unsecured and unverified precisely because he has been informed by a classic FOAF pattern, further distorted by what Sandmel calls amateur "parallelomania" (1962:1-13), where imagined cultural correspondences are hastily drawn between unrelated cultural items. Such data does not produce ethnography—or more precisely, it produces inchoate ethnographies of wholly imagined Jewish communities.

As easy as it must be to make unsecured and unverified statements, it is equally arduous and painful to secure and verify them. Therefore, it could easily take copious pages per item to fully correct the impression of an authentic association between Judaism and each of the seven unsecured and unverified "ethnic markers" of New Mexican crypto-Judaism, listed by Hordes. For a necessarily less exhaustive, but well documented example, I chose the item that seemed most compelling, since seeing-is-believing in folk sensibility, and the local variant of the global tectotum, a small four sided top, is the most visible commonplace among the items on Hordes' list, as well as being one of the most popularly cited "manifestations of crypto-Judaism" in the whole canon.

The four sided tectotum is a gambling toy with a letter on each face, indicating the extent of a win or loss (much like a six sided die), and is a universal phenomenon according to Gould, whose mature, wide-ranging research not only indicates that it is "ancient in origin and is amazingly persistent in all cultures," but also that "The same number of patterns and of types is accidental; there is no direct relationship of one with the other." (1973:42:39)

Perception of a relationship between the local toy and Judaism is primarily visual, and typically ethnocentric, since the local four-sided twirling top looks "just like" the four-sided Yiddish twirling top, the Chanukah *dreydl*. The notion that Judaism is the premier model on which all similar phenomena are subsequently built, is the founding principle of the spurious canon. Having thus determined a causal link between Judaism

and every other similar thing in the world, the notion that Iberian tectotums derive from Jewish tectotums is simply a "given." In the same precritical mindset, people imagine that Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews shared the same *dreydl* tradition, whereby the local variant must also look "just like" the medieval Judeo-Spanish Chanukah top that it is (therefore) supposed to be. However, a quick overview of the literature reveals the following: The tectotum is believed to have been introduced to Europe by ancient Romans, the *dreydl* being a distinctly Yiddish, primarily German/Polish variant that may reflect an older, pagan, winter solstice top, and/or tops traditionally spun on Christmas Eve in England and Germany (Gould 1973:48; Grunwald 1946: 127; Schauss 1938:235). The traditional Jewish variant, or Chanukah *dreydl*, was not shaped like (and therefore did not look like) the wood carved New Mexican tectotum, and was not wood carved, but was made of lead (Goodman 176:234; Schauss 1938:231-232; Zborowski and Herzog 1952:401). Wooden dreydls are primarily associated with the nineteenth century and do not resemble the New Mexican tectotum (Ungerleider-Mayerson 1986:147, 154-155). And last, but hardly least, any and all tectotum traditions are categorically absent from the scholarship that documents Sephardi Chanukah rituals (Dobrinisky 1986:369-375; Kordova and Labovitz 1991:26-27).

As in this instance, other attempts to secure and verify "manifestations of crypto-Jewish tradition" consistently failed. But in the practice of folkloristics, as in the practice of all good science, such negative discoveries are equally valued with positive ones, for they equally illuminate the truth. Moreover, securing and verifying information is not a restricted behavior reserved for social science, but simply a function of general all-purpose scholarship. Specialized training in folklore is not required for such genetic information-seeking. In a free country anyone can go to the library and research tops. Yet, it seems that no one associated with the crypto-Jewish canon resorts to scholarship at any juncture, hence, the canon's "privileged knowledge" is documentably a function of pure speculation.

Clearly, there is a difference between scholarship and speculation, as between the secured and the suspect, as between folkloristic and folkloric discourse. Hence, like Hordes' essay, Loretta Levi's essay can be recognized as a fresh and engaging traveler's tale, told by yet another amateur ethnographer who also describes a totally imagined Jewish community, where there is none to be found (1993:138-141).

Levi, who is evidently a Hebrew teacher from Texas, was led to her conclusions by contact with local members of the Iglesia de Dios (Church of God), a Hispanic congregation that expresses its Messianic personality by adapting items of Judaica to its distinctly Christian tradition. After exposure to the group, visiting its churches in Mexico City and Puebla, and after "Pedro had asked an elderly minister about the beginnings of the church and he received no answer," Levi came to believe "that sometime in the distant past they were Jewish and that outside influences have sifted into the religion over the years." (1993: 140)

To the extent that Southwestern discoverers of lost/hidden

Jews are not comprised of trained ethnographers, they are by definition unaware of the theories and techniques that guide professional ethnographic inquiry. Previous findings on the subjects of their interest are typically ignored. Hence, Levi's readers on the Iglesia de Dios never learn the documented history of the church, or that it was the subject of a responsible research project completed over a number of years (the first project in the 1940s and second in the 1960s) by Raphael Patai. Patai's works are hardly obscure. Additionally, these particular research findings have been reprinted in a 1983 paperback edition of his classic work, *On Jewish Folklore*. Not surprisingly, the professional findings differ significantly from the amateur:

It is a Christian community whose members believe in a special variant of the Christian faith and also observe the biblical Jewish holidays. The name of this community is Iglesia de Dios . . . and it is but a Mexican version of the Church of God which originated in the United States, where most of its membership is still found.

. . . the church was founded by missionaries from the United States who went to Mexico to proselytize for the American Church of God in the early 1900's. (1983: 448)

Informed by their religion that the only true Jews are persons who follow Jesus in the Church of God, the Iglesia de Dios (aka: Iglesia de Dios Israelita and/or Iglesia de Dios del Septimo Dia) experienced a growth spurt in the mid-1900s. Patai comments on the growing structure:

According to the members of the church, whom I interviewed in Mexico City and Puebla, the Iglesia de Dios comprised six trends or divisions. Five of them observed Sunday and the Christian holidays, while the sixth, to which my informants belonged, observed the biblical Jewish holidays and the Sabbath, and considered itself the spiritual heir of the ten tribes of Israel. At the same time, they also believed that Jesus was the son of God and the Messiah, and that the day would come when all the Jews would recognize Jesus and therewith become true Jews. (1983: 448-449)

Hence, contrary to amateur imaginings, the Iglesia de Dios is not of Spanish origin. The faith it professes is not Sephardi Judaism transformed into Christianity. And the faith was not carried to the New World by Levi's imagined Jewish community of "Marranos who came to Mexico to escape the Inquisition of Spain." (1993:140) Rather it was carried to the Southwest by evangelical Protestants, following the imperatives of John Wesley's New York-based disciple, Phoebe W. Palmer (1807-

1874). According to historian Szasz (1988:89), ministers stationed in remote rural areas broke from the Methodist Episcopal Church because of difficulty attracting impoverished and illiterate populations to the intellectual preoccupations of a distant, cosmopolitan clergy. As Episcopal rector Edward Cross observed from Silver City in 1895, "It is a 'far cry'—to use a Highland phrase—from theology to New Mexico." Hence, the inception of evangelical sects, which eventually came to dot the Southwestern landscape, and a number of its regional cemeteries, with Judaic iconography.

Being mistaken in print is not a unique experience. It happens to professionals and amateurs alike. Logically, academic journals cannot refuse to publish essays on topics of interest, in anticipation that authors will sometimes be mistaken. Moreover, it is precisely such academic exposure, and the ensuing intellectual exchange it may provoke, that keeps the discipline vital and alert. Nevertheless, I am struck that two non-folklorists rushed so boldly into print, in an academic journal. Potentially, such courage is symptomatic of stereotypical associations with the terms "folk" and "lore," which devalue the professionalism of the discipline and its journals. It is probably wise to consider that the result of amateur publication in the professional community can be very different from going public in the media and the popular press.

Whatever else scholarship may or may not be, it entails the obligation to secure and verify information, this being the best means to distinguish documentable evidence from rumor and legend, and perhaps the only means to distinguish folkloristics from folklore in ethnographic research. Instead, Southwestern reports of crypto-Jewish "ethnic markers," as with discovery of crypto-Jewish "ethnics" (or their descendants), does not reflect the scholarly documentation that so clearly refutes these claims whenever it is applied. Rather, the canon revives the impulse-ridden taxonomies of ancient and medieval naturalists, which Pratt has identified as the hallmark of the Traveler's Tale (1992:27-37), arguably the folk genre to which the current crypto-Jewish canon belongs, with its long and venerable tradition of discovering "exotic races" in general, and lost/hidden Jews in particular.

In the development of imagined racial/ethnic categories, the relative worthiness of any category is negotiated outside the constraints of reality, and according to what most flatters the imaginer, which defines these belief systems as prejudicial. Hence, we should not be surprised to find a Hispanic form of racial/ethnic prejudice motivating many who claim, and perhaps sincerely believe, they are descended from crypto-Jews. Unhindered by reality, such imaginings need not remain benign to Jews, for changing times can change people's thinking, and with regard to vulnerable minorities, as Mark E. Workman points out: "...the 'stakes' of these ideological negotiations, even though they are carried out on a metaphoric level, have literal consequences that are potentially a matter of life and death." (1993: 180) Therefore, persons motivated to determine the Jewish ethnicity of people who otherwise have no basis for defining

themselves as Jews, should be aware of potentially negative social consequences, both to these people, and to others. Moreover, no one should ever assume that the folkloristic community is just another popularizing agent for legitimating unsecured and unverified products of ethnographic imagination. That mission is the exclusive purview of the popular networks that have so far done so well on behalf of the crypto-Jewish canon, and its creators. Folkloristics, on the other hand, is an academic discipline, and the consequences of publication in an academic journal will always include academic scrutiny, and academic criticism.

References

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Bohlman, Philip V. 1988. Folk Music and Canon Formation: the Creative Dialectic Between Text and Context. In *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Dobrinisky, Herbert C. 1986. *A Treasury of Sephardi Laws and Customs: The Ritual Practices of Syrian, Moroccan, Judeo-Spanish, and Spanish and Portuguese Jews of North America*. Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House, Inc.; New York: Yeshiva University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston: North Eastern University Press.
- Goodman, Philip. 1976. *The Hanukkah Anthology*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Gould, D.W. 1973. *The Top: Universal Toy, Enduring Pastime*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., Publishers.
- Grunwald, M. 1946. The Top Among Jews and Gentiles. *Edoth* (Jerusalem) 1. (English summary p. 127).
- Gutmann, Joseph. 1987. *Jewish Life Cycle, Iconography of Religions*, Eds., Th. van Baaren, et al. Section XXIII: Judaism. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Handler, Richard and William Saxton. 1988. Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative and the Quest for Authenticity in "Living History." *Cultural Anthropology* 3:3.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1988. *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, Eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hordes, Stanley M. 1993. The Sephardic Legacy in the Southwest: The Crypto-Jews of New Mexico. *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 15:2.
- Kordova, Lea-Nota and Eugene Labovitz. 1991. *Our Story, The Jews of Sepharda: Celebrations and Stories*. New York: CAJE Publications.
- Levi, Loretta. 1993. Iglesia de Dios. *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 15:2.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Patai, Raphael. 1983. In *On Jewish Folklore*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Peterson Royce, Anya. 1982. *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Rael, Juan Bautista. 1957. El Padre y el Judío (The Priest and the Jew). In *Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y Nuevo México*. (Spanish Tales from Colorado and New Mexico), vol. 2. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rosnow, Ralph and Gary Alan Fine. 1976. *Rumor and Gossip: The Social Psychology of Hearsay*. New York: Elsevier.
- Sandmel, Samuel. 1962. Parallelomania. In *Journal of Biblical Literature*. 81.
- Schauss, Hayyim. 1938. *The Jewish Festivals: History and Observance*. Trans. Samuel Jaffe. New York: Schocken Books.
- Szasz, Ferenc Morton. 1988. *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and the Mountain West, 1865-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Ungerleider-Mayerson, Joy. 1986. *Jewish Folk Art from Biblical Days to Modern Times*. New York: Summit Books.
- White, Hayden. 1978. *Tropics of Discourse*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Workman, Mark E. 1993 (Spring). Tropes, Hopes and Dopes. *Journal of American Folklore* 106.
- Zborowski, Mark and Elizabeth Herzog. 1952. *Life is With People: The Culture of the Shtetl*. New York: Schocken Books.

Book Reviews

The Blood Libel Legend, A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore acquaints the reader with the interpretations of fourteen authors on a single theme: the accusation raised against Jews of murdering Christian children in order to use their blood in the preparation of the unleavened bread for Passover.

The coverage of this theme includes chronological accounts as to the appearance of accusations beginning in the second century B.C.E. and reaching into contemporary times; the geographical spread takes the reader from ancient Greece to England, from Eastern Europe to Spain, from Egypt to the United States.

Editor Alan Dundes has chosen to publish a selected group of essays from a vast literature on the subject of an evil legend with the intention of "nullifying its pernicious influence"; considering this legend's tenacious survival through centuries, such intent may stay in the realm of wishful thinking. However, the merit of Professor Dundes' effort lies in his new approach, calling upon psychology and a novel analysis of the blood libel story as a folkloristic form. The process he terms "projective inversion," i.e., A accuses B of a deed which A really wishes to carry out, is well documented and easily understandable in terms of standard arguments and theories of guilt complexes.

Not all of the essays can be touched upon in a short review. Some are based on historical research or studies in anti-Semitism; perhaps the weakest is the contribution by Cecil Roth, who makes a questionable connection between Purim and the blood accusation. Possibly Roth felt the vulnerability of his hypothesis, since at various points he interjects "if this were so," "which can

hardly be accepted implicitly," "be that as it may," "if founded in fact," and similarly vague expressions. In his final paragraph he admits to a "purely subjective" point of view, which in light of the overall scholarly tone of this book is somewhat disappointing.

Only Joseph Jacob's (1854-1916) essay assigns importance to visual detail by including a location plan and an archaeological find in his narrative. As for other reference to the arts, there is a brief mention of folk music preceding Bobbington's essay, but we miss some illustration to accompany his descriptive allusions to color. A welcome addition are the woodcuts which Schulz brings into play and thereby makes a connection between the legend and folk art.

Still, the merit of the publication lies not so much in each of the articles as in the well-executed effort to reflect upon and analyze a sad chapter in misunderstanding and persecution based on legend. This Professor Dundes has achieved, and has moreover provided an extensive bibliography on a subject often suppressed.

Ruth Eis
Oakland, California

Notes on the Authors

Iilana Abramovitch is a doctoral candidate in performance studies at New York University, where she is writing her dissertation on the representation of Jews and other American immigrant groups in post-World War I festivals. She was a graduate fellow of the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and a Smithsonian Institute Graduate Student Fellow in 1992.

Toby Blum-Dobkin is the Academic Coordinator of the Museum of Jewish Heritage Video History Project. She is a doctoral candidate in Yiddish studies at Columbia University and a founding editor of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*.

Jonathan Boyarin is an anthropologist who has written widely on issues of territory, memory and the politics of Jewish identity. He is deeply devoted to his Jewish community on the Lower East Side and is the only Boyarin in the Manhattan telephone book.

Shulamit Dion holds a masters degree in ethnomusicology from Brown University and has published numerous essays and reviews on *klezmer* music and Jewish song. A former graduate fellow of the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, she teaches Yiddish in the greater New York area.

Iwona Irwin-Zarecka is the author of *Neutralizing Memory: The Jew in Contemporary Poland* (Transaction, 1989) and *Frames of Remembrance: Social and Cultural Dynamics of Collective Memory* (Transaction, 1994). She is an associate professor of sociology and communication studies at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario.

Mark Klugman is a graduate student in musicology with an emphasis in ethnomusicology at New York University. His dissertation is on the liturgical music of the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn, New York. He is an assistant professor of Jewish ethnomusicology at Hebrew Union College in New York.

Tamar Liebes is a senior lecturer in communications at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is co-author, with Elihu Katz, of *The Export of Meaning: Cross-cultural Readings of "Dallas"* (Polity Press, 1993) and has been working on a Spencer Foundation project on viewer decoding of television news.

Roberta Newman is a freelance photograph and film researcher in New York City and a graduate student in New York University's Gallatin Division. She was the curator of iconographic materials at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research from 1988 to 1992. This article is part of her research for a documentary film about American Jews and DPs.

Michael Paley holds a masters degree in cinema studies from New York University. He was a video archivist for the National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting at the Jewish Museum in New York, and currently resides in Miami.

Lucia Ruedenberg became involved in computer networking in 1990, while on a fellowship at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She recently received her doctorate from the department of performance studies at New York University. Her dissertation is a study of civic commemoration of the Holocaust in New York City.

Henry Sapoznik is a radio and record producer and the founder of the Yiddish music ensemble Kapelye. He is President of Living Traditions, the sponsor of the Yiddish Folk Arts Program, KlezKamp.

Jeffrey Shandler is a doctoral candidate in Yiddish studies at Columbia University. He is currently completing a dissertation on the presentation of the Holocaust on American television.

Eve Sicular is the curator of iconographic materials at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. She worked on the series "Yiddish Film Between Two Worlds" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1991-1992. Her thesis in Russian history and literature at Harvard-Radcliffe College was a study of filmmaker Efir' Shub.

Mark Slobin is Professor of Music at Wesleyan University. He is the author of *Tenement Songs* (University of Illinois, 1982) and *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate* (University of Illinois, 1989) and is the editor of *Old Jewish Folk Music* (University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

Devorah Sperling holds masters degrees in folklore from the University of Pennsylvania and in library and information science from Drexel University. She teaches in Jewish schools in the Boston area and leads foodways workshops at the Yiddish Folk Arts Program, KlezKamp.

Andrew Sunshine is a member of the editorial collegium of the *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*. He holds a doctorate in Yiddish studies from Columbia University.

Aviva Weintraub is the coordinator of public programs at the Jewish Museum of New York and is an Associate Editor of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. She holds a masters degree in Yiddish studies from Columbia University and is a former graduate fellow of the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE *JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW*

Subscription Rates

Individual: \$12 (3 years \$32)

Institutional: \$20 Overseas add \$3 per year

Please remit funds in U.S. currency only. Make checks payable to *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. Mail to: Guy H. Haskell, Editor, *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University Atlanta, GA 30322.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Type of Subscription:

Individual _____

Three years _____

Institutional _____

Overseas _____

The *Review* operates on a shoe-string budget, exhausting its reserves with each issue. I would like to help support the *Review* with a donation of \$ _____.

Don't just give a gift, give a subscription to a journal which can deconstruct the syntagmatic and paradigmatic meta-discourse implicit in the multivocal symbology inherent in the social and performance contextualization process of gift-giving events.

GIVE THE *JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW*!

We will send a tastefully mimeographed sheet announcing your gift.

Please enter my gift subscription for:

Name _____

Address _____

Type of Subscription:

Individual _____

Three years _____

Institutional _____

Overseas _____

From:

Name _____

Amount enclosed _____

Subscription Rates

Individual: \$12 (3 years \$32)

Institutional: \$20 Overseas add \$3.00 per year.

Please remit funds in U.S. currency only. Make checks payable to *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. Mail to: Guy H. Haskell, Editor, *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

Copyrighted Material

Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review
Near Eastern and Judaic Languages
and Literatures.
Emory University Atlanta, GA 30322

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Columbia, SC
Permit No. 1204

THIRD CLASS
DATED MATERIAL

JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY

REVIEW.....

Indiana University

NOV 01 1995

Library

pr



CUMULATIVE INDEX
Vol 16, No.2, 1994

JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW

Vol 16, No. 2, 1994

CUMULATIVE INDEX

From the Editor.....	2
From the Review Editors.....	2
Review Guidelines.....	3
Author index.....	4
Subject index.....	9
Directory of Back Issues.....	16
Book Review.....	39
Notes and Queries.....	41
Back issue sale order form.....	44

The *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* is issued by the Jewish Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society, with the support of the Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures Department at Emory University.

ISSN 0890-9113 ©1994 Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section of the American Folklore Society.

General Editor
Guy H. Haskell

Managing Editor
Annette B. Fromm

Review Editors
Steve Siporin
Judith Cohen

Corresponding Editors
Haya Bar-Yitzhak
Venetia Newall

Associate Editors
Shifra Epstein
Annette B. Fromm
Steve Siporin
Aviva Weintraub

Editorial Advisory Committee
Shalom Staub
Yael Zerubavel
Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

Editorial Assistants
Hadassah-Miryam Renli
Sonya Sharma
Jane Sertel

Correspondence should be addressed to Guy H. Haskell, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322
ghaskel@emory.edu
Subscriptions and business queries should be addressed to Annette Fromm, 1400 Aspen Lane, Norman, OK 73072



From the Editor

From the publication of the inaugural twelve page issue of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Newsletter* in May of 1977, until the appearance of the last seventy page issue of the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, this publication has contained the widest variety of material on our subject, including scholarly articles, course syllabi, festival announcements, book and record reviews, research reports, conference abstracts, and photo-essays. Yet in the eighteen years of publication, and twenty-six issues, including sixteen issues organized around a common topic, we have never published a cumulative index.

Many of the issues are unique, containing the only organized scholarly presentation of research on a topic. For example, Volume 14, Numbers 1-2, guest-edited by Haya Bar-Izchak, is the most up to date and comprehensive collection of materials on contemporary research on Jewish folk literature available. It was designed to serve researcher, student, and teacher alike. It is hoped that this cumulative index will make such valuable materials more accessible.

Accessibility in research is key to the development of our field. The editorial staff is examining options for going "on-line," including databases of scholars and research, gopher and world wide web sites, and discussion groups. There are currently three academic groupings which share common interests and members, and it is hoped that this journal and its electronic offshoots will be able to facilitate communication among them; they are the Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section of the American Folklore Society, which publishes this journal, the newly-formed Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Caucus of the Association for Jewish Studies, and the Committee for the Anthropology of Jews and Judaism of the American Anthropological Association.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Maurice Sacks for her work as Review Editor since 1988. The yoke of this thankless, very important task is now being taken up by long-time Associate Editor Dr. Steve Siporin, and Dr. Judith Cohen. Thanks also to new editorial assistants Ms. Sonya Sharma and Ms. Jane Sertel, and the support of the Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures Department of Emory University, chaired by Dr. Gordon Newby.

Guy H. Haskell, Emory University

From the Review Editors

Judith Cohen and I were recently chosen to continue Maurice Sacks's fine work as review editors for the *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. We have divided the job, roughly, into books (myself) and recordings (Judith). We would like to review videos, films, and exhibitions, too, but we have no policy in those areas as yet.

Since the JFER is one of the few journals in the world to be devoted solely to Jewish folklore and culture, we hope to expand the book review and recording review sections to provide fuller coverage of contemporary research and publication in our subject area. It is impossible to review everything of interest to our diverse readership, but we are planning to add a book notice section which will list new publications that we do not have the space to review. We will also add the feature of review essays in which a scholar can bring together a number of related books or recordings and describe trends or other syntheses.

This expansion will take time, and we hope you will help us bring it about. You can do so by:

- letting us know about your own new books, recordings, films, and videos,
- sending us notices of new publications (at this point we do not receive any publisher's notices automatically,
- asking publishers to send us new works, notices, or other information,
- volunteering to review a particular item or to be available to review in a particular area. (Send us a letter and enclose a vita.)

Our addresses are:

Judith Cohen
Recordings Review Editor

Steve Siporin
Book Review Editor

Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review
751 Euclid Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M6G 2V3
CANADA

English Department
Utah State University
Logan, Utah 84322-3200
USA

e-mail:
jcohen@epas.utoronto.ca

siporin@cc.usu.edu

Review Guidelines

1. You have 3 months in which to write your review.
2. Please limit your review to 500-750 words (unless you are reviewing more than one book).
3. Double space everything except headings.
4. Headings should follow these examples:

The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore. Alan Dundes, ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. Pp. ix + 385, illustrations, selected bibliography, index.

The Jewish Wedding in Baghdad and Its Filiations: Customs and Ceremonies, Documents and Songs, Costumes and Jewelry. Vol 1: Customs, Ceremonies and Documents. Yitshak Avishur. Haifa: University of Haifa Press, 1990. Pp. xvi + 240, illustrations. Hebrew with English summary.

Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of Material Culture. Esther Juhasz. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum in Jerusalem, 1989. Pp. 280, 97 color and 243 b&w photographs, 43 illustrations glossary.

5. Maintain margins of at least one inch on all four edges of typed sheet.
6. Type or print darkly—letter quality, near letter quality, or double-strike are all acceptable if the ribbon is in good shape.

7. (From the Journal of American Folklore style guide):

In a book review, page numbers alone within parentheses will suffice for citation from the book under review, e.g., (pp. 23-24). Normally, authors of reviews and book notes should use no references; they should instead merely refer briefly to a particular publication, e.g., "Smith does not mention the important volume edited by Halpert and Story in 1969 on Christmas mumming." Or, "These conclusions are anticipated by Jansen's 1957 article on performance in Richmond's *Studies in Folklore*."

8. At the end of the review, type your name, italicized or underlined, against the left margin. Type your institution's name or your current location, also underlined or italicized, underneath, also against the left margin.
9. Please send two copies of your review, typed and double spaced, to the address below. You may also include a copy of the review on a disk, preferably in IBM compatible WordPerfect format.

Send two copies of your review to:

Professor Steve Siporin, Book Review Editor
Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review
English Department
Utah State University
Logan, UT 84322-3200

Index According to Author

- Abramovitch, Ilana. "Heritage, Civilization, and the Jews." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 25-29.
- Alexander, Tamar. "Judeo-Spanish Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 12-13.
- Alexander, Tamar. "Second Purim Literary Tradition, Family Self-Image and Ethnic Identity." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 39-48.
- Alexander, Tamar. "The Woman Demon in Jewish Customs and Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 21.
- Alexander, Tamar. "Theme and Genre Relationships between Man and She-Demon in Jewish Folklore." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 56-51.
- Alpert, Michael. "Freylekhs on Film The Portrayal of Jewish Traditional Dance in Yiddish Cinema." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 6-7.
- Amado Bortnick, Rachel. Daniel, Audrey (photos). "The Jewish Women of Turkey." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 96-103.
- Ashton, Dianne. "Grace Aguilar's Popular Theology and the Female Response to Evangelists." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 22.
- Astro, Alan. "Gurwirth's Articles on Hasidic Communities." Vol. 2, No. 2-3, 1979. pgs. 22-24.
- Avishur, Yitzhak. "The Folktales of Iraqi Jews." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 8-9.
- Bachar, Doron. "The Beth Israel in Israel and Ethiopia." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pg. 43.
- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Current Anthropological Research on Algerian Jews in France and an Ethnographic Approach to Foodways." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 8-10.
- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Female Emancipation and Marriage Strategies: North African Jewish Women in France." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 23.
- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Foodways in Contemporary Jewish Communities: Research Directions." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 1-5.
- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Home and Remembrance of the Exile Among North African Sephardim." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 89-91.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya, Shenhar, Aliza. "Processes of Change in Israeli Society as Reflected in Folklore Research The Beith-she'an Model." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 128-133.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "And We Came to the Land of Our Forefathers... The Folk Legend of Yemenite Jews in Israel." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 44-52.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "Contemporary Hebrew Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 15-25.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "Relationships Between Jews and Gentiles in Folk Narratives as Told by Polish Jews." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 8-10.
- Baskin, Judith R. "Discovering Jewish Women's History." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 24-25.
- Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Judeo-Arabic Folktales in North Africa." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 7-8.
- Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Saint Veneration Among North African Jews." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 78-83.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Jewish Folktales Introduction." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pg. 3.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Old Yiddish and Middle Yiddish Folktales." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 5-6.
- Berger, Shulamith Z. "Merry Hanukkah! Santa Claus and Captain Hanukkah Team Up: Greeting Cards and Jewish-Gentile Relations in the 1980s." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 13-16.
- Berger, Shulamith Z. "Tkhines and the Kindling of Sabbath Candles Through the Ages." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 25.
- Bloom, Margo. "The Jewish Museum's National Archive of Broadcasting Developing a Collections Policy." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pgs. 19-20, 27.
- Blum-Dobkin, Toby. "Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 46-50.
- Boyarín, Jonathan. Jewish Geography goes On-Line." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 3-5.
- Brin Ingebr, Judith Rosalie. "Sephardic Dance in Minnesota? Some Anecdotes About Dance and Research." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 74-77.
- Burack, Lynda. "A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Articles of Ethnographic Interest (1965-1975)." Vol. 2, No. 2-3, 1979.
- Carmel, Simon J. "Bibliography and Resources on Deaf Jews and the Jewish Deaf Community." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pg. 24.
- Caspi, Mishaël M., Wisotsky, Rachel E. "The Grief of Expulsion: A Karaite Poet Laments." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 28-31.
- Charnow, Sally. "Seasons of the Soul Context and Meaning in an Orthodox Girls High School." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 17-20.
- Cohen, Judith R. "Judeo-Spanish Songs in Montreal and Toronto." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 26.
- Cohen, Judith R. "Sonography of Judeo-Spanish Song (Cassettes, LP's, CD's, Video, Film)." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 49-55.
- Cooper, Adrienne. "Notes From a Concert Journal." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 11-13.
- Davis, Judith. "Learning about Women Through a Study of Bar Mitzvah: Some Thoughts About Feminist Fieldwork." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 27-28.
- Deshen, Shlomo, Shokeid, Moshe. "Recent Trends in the Study of North African Jews In Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 26-27.
- Dion, Lynn. "Information Resources." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 12-14.

- Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Directory Performers and Performing Groups." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 8-12.
- Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Music in America Revival and Beyond." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pg. 2-8.
- Dion, Shulamit. "The Simkha That Speaks Your Language! (But Is It Art?)" Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 6-8.
- Druyan, Nitza. "The Yemenite Jewish Community Immigration and Absorption." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 10-11.
- Druyan, Nitza. Yemenite Jews in Israel: Studies of a Community in Transition." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 32-34.
- Eis, Ruth. "The Blood Libel, A Case Book in Anti-Semitic Folklore." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pg. 68.
- Epstein, Shifra, Hanson, Kenneth. "Contemporary Kinot: Hasidic Means of Reacting to the Holocaust." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 71-72.
- Epstein, Shifra, Liebowitz, Harold. "Sukkah Decoration in Texas and Northern Mexico." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 16-17.
- Epstein, Shifra. "Photographing a Contemporary Hasidic Pilgrimage to Poland." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 21-22.
- Epstein, Shifra. "Textiles of Union: On Festive Roundels Made and Used by the Jews of Irani Kurdistan." Vol. 9, No. 2. 1987. 1-5.
- Epstein, Shifra. "The Study of Material Culture in Israel." Vol. 10, No. 2. 1988. pgs. 1-2.
- Fintz Menascé, Esther. "Alberto Hemsi and His Coplas Sefardies." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 62-69.
- Freid, Joel Carl. "Jews in Contemporary Romania." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 44-45.
- Fromm, Annette B. "Among The Jews of Ioannina: Symbolic Enactments." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 104-106.
- Fromm, Annette B. "Jewish-Gentile Relations The Fenster Museum of Jewish Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 20-21.
- Gelander, Shamai. "One Story, Two Stories. On Folktale Motifs as Literary Devices in the Biblical Narratives of Saul and David." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 62-65.
- Ginsburg, Faye. "The Parallax Effect Jewish Ethnographic Film." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 16-17.
- Glassman, Carl. "The Jews of Brighton Beach." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 23-27.
- Glazier, Jack. "Immigrant Jews in the Midwest: Notes on the Industrial Removal Office, Traveling Agents, and Local Communities." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 2-8.
- Goldberg, Harvey E. "Jews and Non-Jews in North Africa: A Bibliography." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 10-12.
- Goldberg, Harvey. "Italian Jews of Libya." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 7-8.
- Goldman, Eric. "Selected Jewish Ethnographic Film/Videography." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 41-42.
- Goldman-Ida, Batsheva. "The Museum of the Babylonian Heritage Center in Or Yehuda." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pg. 25.
- Gonen, Rivka. "Ethnographic Work at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 23-24.
- Goren, Ayalah. "The Ethnic Dance in Israel, With Selected Filmography." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 1-6.
- Gottesman, Itzik. "The Man in the Brimmed Hat The Filedwork Narratives of the Warsaw Yiddish Folklorists." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 2-4.
- Greenbaum Ucko, Lenora. "Who are the Wives? Who are the Husbands? A Study of Marriage Roles in Jewish Classical Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 5-10.
- Greenwald, Alice M. "Ethnographic Approaches within the Museum Setting." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 1-4.
- Griff, Hanna. "Toldot Iowa Diary." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 13-19.
- Gutmann, Joseph. "Jewish Legends in Art." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pg. 12.
- Haboucha, Ginette. "The Judeo-Spanish Folktale: A Current Update." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 32-38.
- Hannan-Stavroulakis, Daniel. "Jewish Museum of Greece." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 12-13.
- Harris, Tracy K. "Judeo-Spanish in the Ottoman Empire." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 112-117.
- Hasan-Rokem, Galit, Yasif, Eli. "The Study of Jewish Folklore in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 2-11.
- Hasan-Rokem, Galit. "Proverbs as Inter-Ethnic Dialogue in Israel." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 52-55.
- Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria from Liberation from Ottoman Rule to the Second World War: 1879-1940." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 117-128.
- Haskell, Guy H. "The Development of Israeli Anthropological Approaches to Immigration and Ethnicity: 1948-1980." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 19-26.
- Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 10-11.
- Heilman, Samuel C. "On Training Natives to be Strangers." Vol. 1, No. 4, 1978. pgs. 16-17.
- Herzog, Mikhl. "The Culinary Treasures of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 6-7.
- Huseby-Darvas, Éva V. "Remembering our Jews: The Complexity of Village Relations in North Hungary." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 5-7.
- Irwin-Zarecka, Iwona. "A Holocaust Mourning Show?: Research Note." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 51-52.
- Johnson, Barbara Cortle. "Cochin Jewish Folklore: Bibliographic Review and Research Plans." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 5-6.
- Katreil, Tamar. "Israeli Speechways: An Overview of Discourse-Oriented Studies." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 12-18.
- Kaufman Shelemay, Kay. "A Study of Syrian-Jewish Music in Brooklyn." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 24-25.
- Kaufman, Debra. "Experiencing Hasidism: Newly Orthodox Women's Perspectives on Sexuality and Domesticity." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 1-4.

- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Ethnographic Approaches to Collection, Presentation, and Interpretation in Museums." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 4-12.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Charity Cookbooks in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography of 201 Recent Publications." pgs. 13-18.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Folklore and Ethnology: Towards an Intellectual History." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 16-24.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Recipes for Creating Community: The Jewish Charity Cookbook in America." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 8-12.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Report on East European Collections." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 1-4.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "The Jews of Asia, Hall of Asian Peoples, American Museum of Natural History." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 25-27.
- Kliger, Hannah, Schreier, Barbara. "Towards a Study of Jewish Immigrant Women in Boston, 1880-1920: Clothing, Culture and Communication." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 28-29.
- Kligman, Mark. "The Medium and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews." Vol. 16, no. 1. 1994. pgs. 9-11.
- Kotler, Igor. "Jewish Life in Oni (Early 1980's)." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pg. 28.
- Kravetz Guberman, Jayne. "Jewish Women Artists in Transition." Vol. 10, No. 2. 1988. pgs. 13-14.
- Kravetz-Guberman. "A Folklorist's Catalogue of Catalogues." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 14-16.
- Krinsky, Carol Herselle. "Jewish Monument Preservation in Europe." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 11-12.
- Kuglemass, Jack. "Purim in Williamsburg." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 46-47.
- Laderman, Carole. "A Jewish Family in Muslim Malaysia." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 17-19.
- Landa, Luis. "Early Judeo-Spanish Folk-Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 6-7.
- Lande, Marilyn. "Jewish Women and the Visual Arts." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 29-30.
- Leviatan, Uriel. "Institute for Study and Research of Kibbutz and the Cooperative Idea." Vol. 11, No. 1-2. 1989. pgs. 43-44.
- Lévy Zumwalt, Rosemary. "Las Buenas Mujeres: The Keepers of Sephardic Health and Home." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 107-112.
- Lévy, Isaac Jack. "Sephardic Folklore in the Ottoman Empire: A Living Force." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 92-96.
- Liebes, Tamar. "Debating the Portrayal of the Other as One of Us: Palestinians in the New Israeli Cinema." Vol. 16, 1994. pgs. 30-34.
- Liebowitz, Harold. "Rabbinic Attitudes Towards Art and Decoration." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. 10-11.
- London, Gloria. "The Chosen People and Never on Sunday." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 22-23.
- Malamud, Randy. "'Even the Walls Can Write': An Anecdotal Fragment of Family Heritage." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 5-10.
- Manuel Pedrosa, José. "'The Twelve Meals': A Sephardic Passover Song and its Spanish and European Counterparts." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 70-73.
- Marzolph, Ulrich. "Judeo-Persian Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pg. 14.
- Miraglia, Dina Dabhan. "Yemenites in America: The Invisible Jews." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 12-13.
- Nadell, Pamela S. "Women as Rabbis and Religious Leaders." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 30.
- Naggat, Carole. "Patrick Zachmann Identity Inquiry, A Review Essay." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 11-15.
- Neulander, Judith S. "Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 68.
- Newman, Esther. "Role Transformation in a Tunisian Woman's Tale." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 11-13.
- Newman, Roberta. "Home Movies and the Alte Heym (Old Home): American Jewish Travel Films in Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 22-28.
- Newman, Roberta. "DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 52-56.
- Nossek, Bedrich. "The State Jewish Museum in Prague: Collections, Activities, and Perspectives." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 10-11.
- Ochs, Vanessa L. "Learned Women in Jerusalem." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 30-31.
- Paley, Michael. "The Hollywood Midrash." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 34-37.
- Prell, Riv-Ellen. "In Memory of Barbara Myerhoff." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 12-14.
- Rafael, Shmuel. "The Judeo-Spanish Romance: The Characteristics and Uniqueness of the Genre in Salonica." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 19-22.
- Rose Ronay, Judy. "Portraits of Children of Jewish Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 29-32.
- Roskies, David G. "Ansky Lives!" Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 66-69.
- Ruedenberg, Lucia. "Jewish Resources in Computer Networking." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 12-18.
- Sabar, Yona. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographic Review." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 8-9.
- Sabar, Yona. "Studies of the Folklore, Ethnography and Literature of Kurdistan: Jews: An Annotated Bibliography." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 35-38.
- Sabar, Yona. "The Folk Literature of the Jews of Kurdistan." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 10-11.

- Salama, Messod. "Factors in the Preservation and Re-creation of the Judeo-Spanish Romancero." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 4-18.
- Salzman, Cynthia. "Jewish Women Coming of Age: The Adult Bat Mitzvah." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 31-32.
- Sapoznik, Henry. "Broadcast Ghetto: The Image of Jews on Mainstream American Radio." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 37-39.
- Schönhaut Hirshan, Marjorie. "The Jewish Women's Resource Center : Bringing Women Closer to Judaism and Judaism Closer to Women." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 28.
- Schuchat, Molly G. "Brother and Sister Together." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 32-33.
- Seroussi, Edwin. "Sephardic Music: A Bibliographical Guide with a Checklist of Notated Sources." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 56-61.
- Shai, Donna. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographical Review (1931-1974)." Vol. 2, No. 1, 1978. pgs. 9-10.
- Shandler, Jeffrey. " 'People of a Thousand Towns': Yivo's Videocdisc Project." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pg. 18.
- Shandler, Jeffrey. "Is there a Jewish Way to Watch Television? Notes from a Tuned-In Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 19-22.
- Shenhar, Aliza, Katriel, Tamar. "I Was There: The Poetics of Narration in 'Tower and Stockade'-Personal Experience Stories." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992.; pgs. 32-43.
- Shenhar-Alroy, Aliza. "The Division of Folklore Studies, University of Haifa." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 45.
- Shiloah, Amnon. "Ethnomusiological Research in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 42.
- Shohat, Ella. "From Didactic Texts to Allegorical Readings: Israeli Culture and Film Narrative." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 38-41.
- Shokeid, Moshe. "Continuity and Change Among North African Jews in Israel." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 1-3.
- Shuman, Amy. "Proposal For a Traveling Exhibition: What is Jewish Folk Art?" Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 3-4.
- Sibahi Greenfield, Zippora. "The Reconstruction of a Jewish Wedding Dress from Maswar, Yemen." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pg. 15.
- Sicular, Eve. " 'A Yingl Mit A Yingl Hot Epes A Tam': The Celluloid Closet of Yiddish Film." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 40-45.
- Silverman Weinreich, Beatrice. "Modern Yiddish Folktales." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 14-15.
- Singer, Mirella, Santiago, Sara. "Doing Field Work in Mesoamerica: Maya Indians' Images of Jews." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 19-22.
- Siporin, Steve. "Italian Jewry." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 6-7.
- Slobin, Mark. "Women Cantors." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 33.
- Slobin, Mark. "The Music of Jewish Film: A Research Report." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pg. 45.
- Slyomovics, Susan. "The Pilgrimage of Rabbi Ephraim Al-Naqawa, Tlemcen, Algeria." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 84-88.
- Sperling, Deborah and Jeffrey Shandler. "Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Jewish Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 57-58.
- Starr Sered, Susan. "Halakha, Modesty and Women From a Female Perspective." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 14-16.
- Staub, Shalom and Musello, Chris. "Network Analysis and the Ethnographic Study of Dance: American Israeli Folk Dancing." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 8-13.
- Staub, Shalom. "Folklore and Ethnography of Jewish Experience." Vol. 9, No. 2, 1987. pgs. 6-7.
- Staub, Shalom. "General Trends in the Folkloric Literature and a Review of Research on Yemenite Jewish Dance." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 13-14.
- Staub, Shalom. "Jewish Dance: Current Bibliography." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pg. 31.
- Stillman, Yedida K. "Jewish Costume and Textile Studies: The State of Art." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 5-9.
- Stillman, Yedida K. "The Interplay of Museums, Ethnicity, and Sephardi/Oriental Material Culture in Israel." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 134-137.
- Sunshine, Andrew. "Computers and the *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry: The 1960s*." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 59-63.
- Tallan, Cheryl. "Medieval Jewish Widows." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 34.
- Teichman, Carmela. "Towards a Directory of Museums and Institutions Worldwide and Their Exhibitions and Catalogues Devoted to Jewish Culture." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 17-22.
- Tobi, Yosef. "Judeo-Arabic Folktales from Yemen." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 11-12.
- Trionah Friedman, Karen. "Photoethnography and the Jews of Djerba." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pg. 33.
- Tsoffar, Ruth. "The Karaite Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pg. 35.
- Umansky, Ellen M. "Exploring Modern Jewish Women's Spirituality." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 35-36.
- Van Voolen, Edward. "The Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 22-23.
- Vidakovic Petrov, Krinka. "La Doncella Guerrera." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 23-28.
- Wasserfall, Rahel. "Gender Identification Among Israeli Women." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 36-37.
- Weil, Shalva. "Ethiopian Jewry in Israel: A Survey of Research and Documentation." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 28-32.
- Weintraub, Aviva. "An American in Poland: Photography and the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 14-21.

- Weintraub, Aviva. "The Photoethnography of Jewish Communities: A Bibliography of Related Books, Articles and Museum Catalogues." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 3-10.
- Weintraub, Aviva. "From Mako to Margaret Mead: Mediating Memory in an Ethnographic Film." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 22-24.
- Weissler, Chava. "Teaching Jewish Folklore: Sample Course Syllabi-Jewish Folklore, The Folklore and Folklife of Ashenazic Jewry." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs.15-16.
- Weissler, Chava. "Yiddish Prayers for Women: Reflections on Research in Progress." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 37-38.
- Wilde, Anna. "Black-Jewish Relations During the Civil Rights Movement: Beloit, Wisconsin, 1954-1965." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 9-12.
- Yassif, Eli. "Folklore Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 46.
- Yassif, Eli. "Medieval Hebrew Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 3-4.
- Yassif, Eli. "Storytelling of the 'Repentance Movement': Rhetoric, Folklore and Cultural Debate in Contemporary Israel." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 26-31.
- Zenner, Walter. "The Syrian Jews of Metropolitan New York City: A Bibliographic Guide." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 6-8.
- Zenner, Walter. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." Vol. 1, No. 2-3, 1977. pgs. 11-17.
- Zenner, Walter. "The Folklore of Jewish-Gentile Relations." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 2-4.
- Zerubavel, Yael. "Oral History Study of the New York Syrian Jewish Community." Vol. 8, no. 1-2. 1986. pgs. 25-26.

Subject Index

Anthropology

- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Current Anthropological Research on Algerian Jews in France and an Ethnographic Approach to Foodways." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 8-10.
- Haskell, Guy. "The Development of Israeli Anthropological Approaches to Immigration and Ethnicity 1948-1980." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 19-26.
- Zenner, Walter. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." Vol. 1, No. 2-3, 1977. pgs. 11-17.

Anti-Semitism

- Eis, Ruth. "The Blood Libel, A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore." Vol. 16, No. 1, pg. 68.

Art

- Fromm, Annette B. "Jewish-Gentile Relations The Fenster Museum of Jewish Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma." Vol. 13, No. 2, 1991. pgs. 20-21.
- Gutmann, Joseph. "Jewish Legends in Art." Vol. 10, No. 2, pgs. 1988. pg. 12.
- Kravetz Guberman, Jayne. "Jewish Women Artists in Transition." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 13-14.
- Lande, Marilyn. "Jewish Women and the Visual Arts." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 29-30.
- Liebowitz, Harold. "Rabbinic Attitudes Towards Art and Decoration." Vol. 10, No. 2, pgs. 1988. pgs. 10-11.
- Shuman, Amy. "Proposal For a Traveling Exhibition: What is Jewish Folk Art?" Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 3-4.
- Stillman, Yedida K. "Jewish Costume and Textile Studies: The State of Art." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 5-9.

Computer

- Boyarin, Jonathan. "Jewish Geography Goes On-Line." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 3-5.
- Sperling, Devorah and Jeffrey Shandler. "Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Jewish Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 57-58.
- Sunshine, Andrew. "Computers and the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry: the 1960s." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 59-63.
- Ruedenberg, Lucia. "Jewish Resources in Computer Networking." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 12-18.

Costume

- Stillman, Yedida K. "Jewish Costume and Textile Studies: The State of Art." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pgs. 5-9.
- Sibahi Greenfield, Zippora. "The Reconstruction of a Jewish Wedding Dress from Maswar, Yemen." Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988. pg. 15.

Dance

- Alpert, Michael. "Freylekhs on Film: The Portrayal of Jewish Traditional Dance in Yiddish Cinema." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 6-7.
- Goren, Ayalah. "The Ethnic Dance in Israel, With Selected Filmography." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 1-6.
- Staub, Shalom and Musello, Chris. "Network Analysis and the Ethnographic Study of Dance: American Israeli Folk Dancing." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 8-13.
- Staub, Shalom. "General Trends in the Folkloric Literature and a Review of Research on Yemenite Jewish Dance." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 13-14.
- Staub, Shalom. "Jewish Dance: Current Bibliography." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pg. 31.

Ethnography

- Burack, Lynda. "A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Articles of Ethnographic Interest (1965-1975)." Vol. 2, No. 2-3, 1979.
- Ginsburg, Faye. "The Parallax Effect: Jewish Ethnographic Film." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pgs. 16-17.
- Goldman, Eric. "Selected Jewish Ethnographic Film/Videography." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pgs. 41-42.
- Gonen, Rivka. "Ethnographic Work at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem." Vol. 10, No. 2, pgs. 1988. pgs. 23-24.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Ethnographic Approaches to Collection, Presentation, and Interpretation in Museums." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 4-12.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Folklore and Ethnology: Towards an Intellectual History." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 16-24.
- Sabar, Yona. "Studies of the Folklore, Ethnography and Literature of Kurdistan Jews: An Annotated Bibliography." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 35-38.
- Shandler, Jeffrey. "Is There a Jewish Way to Watch Television? Notes from a Tuned-in Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 19-22.
- Shiloah, Amnon. "Ethnomusicological Research in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 42.
- Sperling, Devorah and Jeffrey Shandler. "Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Jewish Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 57-58.
- Staub, Shalom and Musello, Chris. "Network Analysis and the Ethnographic Study of Dance: American Israeli Folk Dancing." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 8-13.
- Staub, Shalom. "Folklore and Ethnography of Jewish Experience." Vol. 9, No. 2, 1987. pgs. 6-7.
- Staub, Shalom. "General Trends in the Folkloric Literature and a Review of Research on Yemenite Jewish Dance." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 13-14.

Weintraub, Aviva. "From Mako to Margaret Mead: Meditating Memory in an Ethnographic Film." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 22-34.

Film

- Alpert, Michael. "Freylekhs on Film: The Portrayal of Jewish Traditional Dance in Yiddish Cinema." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 6-7.
- Brin Inge and Judith Rosalie. "Sephardic Dance in Minnesota? Some Anecdotes About Dance and Research." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 74-77.
- Cohen, Judith R. "Sonography of Judeo-Spanish Song (Cassettes, Lp's, CD's, Video, Film)." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 49-55.
- Ginsburg, Faye. "The Parallax Effect: Jewish Ethnographic Film." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 16-17.
- Goldman, Eric. "Selected Jewish Ethnographic Film/Videography." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 41-42.
- Goren, Ayalah. "The Ethnic Dance in Israel, With Selected Filmography." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 1-6.
- Liebman, Tamar. "Debating the Portrayal of the Other as One of Us: Palestinianians in the New Israeli Cinema." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 30-34.
- Newman, Roberta. "Home Movies and the Alte Heym (Old Home): American Jewish Travel Films in Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 22-28.
- Newman, Roberta. "DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 52-56.
- Paley, Michael. "The Hollywood Midrash." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 34-37.
- Shandler, Jeffrey. "People of a Thousand Towns: Yivo's Videodisc Project." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pg. 18.
- Shohat, Ella. "From Didactic Texts to Allegorical Readings: Israeli Culture and Film Narrative." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 38-41.
- Sicular, Eve. "A yingle mit a yingl hot epos a tam': The Celluloid Closet of Yiddish Film." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 40-45.
- Straub, Shalom and Chris Musello. "Network Analysis and the Ethnographic Study of Dance: American Israeli Folk Dancing." Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986. pgs. 8-13.
- Weintraub, Aviva. "From Mako to Margaret Mead: Meditating Memory in an Ethnographic Film." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 22-34.

Folk Narratives

- Alexander, Tamar. "Judeo-Spanish Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 12-13.
- Alexander, Tamar. "Second Purim: Literary Tradition, Family Self-Image and Ethnic Identity." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 39-48.
- Alexander, Tamar. "The Woman Demon in Jewish Customs and Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 21.

- Alexander, Tamar. "Theme and Genre Relationships between Man and She-Demon in Jewish Folklore." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 56-51.
- Avishur, Yitzhak. "The Folktales of Iraqi Jews." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 8-9.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "Contemporary Hebrew Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 15-25.
- Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "Relationships Between Jews and Gentiles in Folk Narratives as Told by Polish Jews." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 8-10.
- Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Judeo-Arabic Folktales in North Africa." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 7-8.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Jewish Folktales Introduction." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pg. 3.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Old Yiddish and Middle Yiddish Folktales." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 5-6.
- Gelander, Shama. "One Story, Two Stories. On Folklore Motifs as Literary Devices in the Biblical Narratives of Saul and David." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 62-65.
- Gottesman, Itzik. "The Man in the Brimmed Hat: The Filedwork Narratives of Warsaw Yiddish Folklorists." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 2-4.
- Greenbaum Ucko, Lenora. "Who are the Wives? Who are the Husbands? A Study of Marriage Roles in Jewish Classical Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 5-10.
- Haboucha, Ginette. "The Judeo-Spanish Folklore: A Current Update." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 32-38.
- Hasan-Rokem, Galit and Eli Yasif. "The Study of Jewish Folklore in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 2-11.
- Johnson, Barbara Cottle. "Cochin Jewish Folklore: Bibliographic Review and Research Plans." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 5-6.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Folklore and Ethnology: Towards an Intellectual History." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 16-24.
- Kravez-Guberman. "A Folklorist's Catalogue of Catalogues." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 14-16.
- Landa, Luis. "Early Judeo-Spanish Folk-Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 6-7.
- Lévy, Isaac Jack. "Sephardic Folklore in the Ottoman Empire: A Living Force." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 92-96.
- Marzolph, Ulrich. "Judeo-Persian Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pg. 14.
- Newman, Esther. "Role in Transformation in a Tunisian Woman's Tale." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 11-13.
- Sabar, Yona. "The Folk Literature of the Jews of Kurdistan." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 10-11.
- Salama, Messoud. "Factors in the Preservation and Re-creation of the Judeo-Spanish Romancero." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 4-18.
- Shenhar-Alroy, Aliza. "The Division of Folklore Studies, University of Haifa." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989.

- Weissler, Chava. "Teaching Jewish Folklore: Sample Course Syllabi-Jewish Folklore and The Folklore and Folklife of Ashkenazic Jewry." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 15-16.
- Yassif, Eli. "Folklore Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 46.
- Yassif, Eli. "Medieval Hebrew Folk Narratives." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 3-4.
- Yassif, Eli. "Storytelling of the 'Repentance Movement': Rhetoric Folklore and Cultural Debate in Contemporary Israel." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 26-31.
- Zenner, Walter. "The Folklore of Jewish-Gentile Relations." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 2-4.

Folklore Research

- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Current Anthropological Research on Algerian Jews in France and an Ethnographic Approach to Foodways." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 8-10.
- Bar-Izchak, Haya, and Aliza Shenhar. "Processes of Change in Israeli Society as Reflected in Folklore Research: The Beith-she'an Model." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 128-133.
- Eis, Ruth. "The Blood Libel, A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore." Vol. 16, No. 1, pg. 68.
- Hasan-Rokem, Galit, and Eli Yassif. "The Study of Jewish Folklore in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 2-11.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Folklore and Ethnology: Towards an Intellectual History." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 16-24.
- Kravetz-Guberman. "A Folklorist's Catalogue of Catalogues." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 14-16.
- Shenhar-Alroy, Aliza. "The Division of Folklore Studies, University of Haifa." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pg. 45.

Foodways

- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Foodways in Contemporary Jewish Communities: Research Directions." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 1-5.
- Herzog, Mikhl. "The Culinary Treasures of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 6-7.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Charity Cookbooks in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography of 201 Recent Publications." pgs. 13-18.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Recipes for Creating Community: The Jewish Charity Cookbook in America." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 8-12.
- Zenner, Walter. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." Vol. 1, No. 2-3, 1977. pgs. 11-17.

Geography

- Boyarin, Jonathan. "Jewish Geography Goes On-Line." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 3-5.

Hasidism (see also Jews, Orthodox, Orthodoxy)

- Astro, Alan. "Gurwirth's Articles on Hasidic Communities." Vol. 2, No. 2-3, 1979. pgs. 22-24.
- Epstein, Shifra, and Kenneth Hanson. "Contemporary Kinot: Hasidic Means of Reacting to the Holocaust." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 71-72.
- Epstein, Shifra. "Photographing a Contemporary Hasidic Pilgrimage to Poland." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pgs. 21-22.
- Kaufman, Debra. "Experiencing Hasidism: Newly Orthodox Women's Perspectives on Sexuality and Domesticity." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 1-4.
- Starr Sered, Susan. "Halakha Modesty and Women From a Female Perspective." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 14-16.

Holocaust

- Blum-Dobkin, Toby. "Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 46-50.
- Irwin-Zarecka, Iwona. "A Holocaust Mourning Show? Research Note." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 51-52.
- Rose Ronay, Judy. "Portraits of Children of Jewish Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust." Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988. pgs. 29-32.

Immigration, Immigrants

- Druyan, Nitza. "The Yemenite Jewish Community: Immigration and Absorption." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 10-11.
- Glazier, Jack. "Immigrant Jews in the Midwest: Notes on the Industrial Removal Office, Traveling Agents, and Local Communities." Vol. 13, No. 2, 1991. pgs. 2-8.
- Haskell, Guy. "The Development of Israeli Anthropological Approaches to Immigration and Ethnicity 1948-1980." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 19-26.
- Heilman, S.C. "On Training Natives to be Strangers." Vol. 1, No. 4, 1978. pgs. 16-17.
- Kliger, Hannah and Barbara Schreier. "Towards a Study of Jewish Immigrant Women in Boston, 1880-1920: Clothing, Culture and Communication." Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990. pgs. 28-29.

Jews

Algeria

- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Current Anthropological Research on Algerian Jews in France and an Ethnographic Approach to Foodways." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 8-10.

Asia

- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "The Jews of Asia, Hall of Asian Peoples, American Museum of Natural History." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 25-27.

Ashkenazi

- Herzog, Mikhl. "The Culinary Treasures of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry." Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987. pgs. 6-7.
- Weissler, Chava. "Teaching Jewish Folklore: Sample Course Syllabi-Jewish Folklore, The Folklore and Folklife of

- Ashkenazic Jewry." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986.
pgs.15-16.
- Boston*
Kliger, Hannah, Schriber, Barbara. "Towards a Study of Jewish Immigrant Women in Boston, 1880-1920: Clothing, Culture and Communication." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990.
pgs. 28-29.
- Bulgaria*
Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria: from Liberation from Ottoman Rule to the Second World War, 1879-1940." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 117-128.
Haskell, Guy. "The Jews of Bulgaria." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982.
pgs. 10-11
- California*
Tsoufas, Ruth. "The Karaite Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 35.
- Crypto-Jews*
Neulander, Judith S. "Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 64-68.
- Deaf*
Carmel, Simon J. "Bibliography and Resources on Deaf Jews and the Jewish Deaf Community." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991.
pg. 24.
- Djerba*
Trionah Friedman, Karen. "Photoethnography and the Jews of Djerba." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 33.
- European*
Weintraub, Aviva. "An American in Poland: Photography and the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 14-21.
- France*
Bahoul, Joëlle. "Female Emancipation and Marriage Strategies: North African Jewish Women in France." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 23.
- Hungary*
Huseby-Darvas, Éva V. "Remembering our Jews: The Complexity of Village Relations in North Hungary." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 5-7.
- Ioannina*
Fromm, Annette B. "Among The Jews of Ioannina: Symbolic Enactments." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 104-106.
- Iran*
Epstein, Shifra. "Textiles of Union On Festive Roundels Made and Used by the Jews of Irani Kurdistan." Vol. 9, No. 2. 1987. 1-5.
Sabar, Yona. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographic Review." Vol. 4, No. 3-4. 1981. pgs. 8-9.
Sabar, Yona. "Studies of the Folklore, Ethnography and Literature of Kurdistan: An Annotated Bibliography." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 35-38.
Sabar, Yona. "The Folk Literature of the Jews of Kurdistan." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, 1992. pgs. 10-11.
Shai, Donna. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographical Review (1931-1974)." Vol. 2, No. 1, 1978. pgs.9-10.
- Iraqi*
Avishur, Yitzhak. "The Folktales of Iraqi Jews." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 8-9.
- Israeli*
Bar-Izrahak, Haya. "And We Came to the Land of Our Forefathers..." The Folk Legend of Yemenite Jews in Israel." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 44-52.
Deshen, Shlomo, and Moshe Shokeid. "Recent Trends in the Study of North African Jews In Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 26-27.
Druyan, Nitza. Yemenite Jews in Israel: Studies of a Community in Transition." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 32-34.
Haskell, Guy. "The Development of Israeli Anthropological Approaches to Immigration and Ethnicity, 1948-1980." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 19-26.
Ochs, Vanessa L. "Learned Women in Jerusalem." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 30-31.
Shokeid, Moshe. "Continuity and Change Among North African Jews in Israel." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs.1-3.
Wasserfall, Rahel. "Gender Identification Among Israeli Women." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 36-37.
Weil, Shalva. "Ethiopian Jewry in Israel: A Survey of Research and Documentation." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 28-32.
- Italian*
Goldberg, Harvey. "Italian Jews of Libya." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs.7-8.
Siporin, Steve. "Italian Jewry." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 6-7.
- Karaites*
Tsoufas, Ruth. "The Karaite Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 35.
- Libya*
Goldberg, Harvey. "Italian Jews of Libya." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs.7-8.
- Malaysia*
Laderman, Carole. "A Jewish Family in Muslim Malaysia." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 17-19.
- Mesoamerican*
Singer, Mirella, and Sara Santiago. "Doing Field Work in Mesoamerica: Maya Indians' Images of Jews." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 19-22.
- Midwestern America*
Brin Inger, and Rosalie Judith. "Sephardic Dance in Minnesota? Some Anecdotes About Dance and Research." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 74-77.
Glazier, Jack. "Immigrant Jews in the Midwest: Notes on the Industrial Removal Office, Traveling Agents, and Local Communities." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 2-8.
Wilde, Anna. "Black-Jewish Relations During the Civil Rights Movement Beloit, Wisconsin, 1954-1965." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 9-12.
- New York*
Glassman, Carl. "The Jews of Brighton Beach." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 23-27.

Kuglemass, Jack. "Purim in Williamsburg." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 46-47.

Zenner, Walter. "The Syrian Jews of Metropolitan New York City—A Bibliographic Guide." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 6-8.

Zerubavel, Yael. "Oral History Study of the New York Syrian Jewish Community." pgs. 25-26.

North Africa

Bahloul, Joëlle. "Female Emancipation and Marriage Strategies: North African Jewish Women in France." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 23.

Bahloul, Joëlle. "Home and Remembrance of the Exile Among North African Sephardim." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 89-91.

Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Saint Veneration Among North African Jews." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 78-83.

Deshen, Shlomo, and Moshe Shokeid. "Recent Trends in the Study of North African Jews In Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 26-27.

Goldberg, Harvey E. "Jews and Non-Jews in North Africa: A Bibliography." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 10-12.

Shokeid, Moshe. "Continuity and Change Among North African Jews in Israel." Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982. pgs. 1-3.

Oni

Kotler, Igor. "Jewish Life in Oni (Early 1980's)." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pg. 28

Romania

Freid, Joel Carl. "Jews in Contemporary Romania." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 44-45.

Sephardic

Lévy Zumwalt, Rosemary. "Las Buenas Mujeres: The Keepers of Sephardic Health and Home." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 107-112.

Fintz Menascé, Esther. "Alberto Hemi and His Coplas Sephardies." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 62-69.

Spanish

Harris, Tracy K. "Judeo-Spanish in the Ottoman Empire." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. Pgs. 112-117.

Neulander, Judith S. "Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 64-68.

Syrian

Zenner, Walter. "The Syrian Jews of Metropolitan New York City—A Bibliographic Guide." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 6-8.

Zerubavel, Yael. "Oral History Study of the New York Syrian Jewish Community." Vol. 8, No. 1-2. 1986. pgs. 25-26.

Turkey

Amado Bortnick, Rachel. Daniel, Audrey (photos). "The Jewish Women of Turkey." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 96-103.

Yemenite

Miraglia, Dina Dahbany. "Yemenites in America: The Invisible Jews." Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981. pgs. 12-13.

Kashrut

Zenner, Walter. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." Vol. 1, No. 2-3, 1977. pgs. 11-17.

Kibbutz

Leviatan, Uriel. "Institute for Study and Research of Kibbutz and the Cooperative Idea." Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989. pgs. 43-44.

Klezmer (see also Music)

Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Directory: Performers and Performing Groups." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pgs. 8-12.

Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Music in America: Revival and Beyond." Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986. pg. 2-8.

Monuments

Krinsky, Carol Herselle. "Jewish Monument Preservation in Europe." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 11-12.

Museums

Fromm, Annette B. "Jewish-Gentile Relations: The Fenster Museum of Jewish Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma." Vol. 13, No. 2. 1991. pgs. 20-21.

Goldman-Ida, Batseva. "The Museum of the Babylonian Heritage Center in Or Yehuda." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pg. 25.

Gonen, Rivka. "Ethnographic Work at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 23-24.

Greenwald, Alice M. "Ethnographic Approaches within the Museum Setting." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 1-4.

Hannan-Stavroulakis, Daniel. "Jewish Museum of Greece." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 12-13.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Ethnographic Approaches to Collection, Presentation, and Interpretation in Museums." Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985. pgs. 4-12.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Report on East European Collections." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 1-4.

Nosek, Bedrich. "The State Jewish Museum in Prague: Collections, Activities, and Perspectives." Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-84. pgs. 10-11.

Shuman, Amy. "Proposal for a Traveling Exhibition: What is Jewish Folk Art?" Vol. 10, No. 2. 1988. pgs. 3-4.

Stillman, Yedida K. "The Interplay of Museums, Ethnicity, and Sephardi/Oriental Material Culture in Israel." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 134-137.

Teichman, Carmela. "Towards a Directory of Museums and Institutions Worldwide and Their Exhibitions and Catalogues Devoted to Jewish Culture." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 17-22.

Van Voolen, Edward. "The Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 22-23.

Weintraub, Aviva. "The Photoethnography of Jewish Communities: A Bibliography of Related Books, Articles and Museum Catalogues." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 3-10.

Music

- Cohen, Judith R. "Judeo-Spanish Songs in Montreal and Toronto." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 26.
- Cohen, Judith R. "Sonography of Judeo-Spanish Song (Cassettes, Lp's, CD's, Video, Film)." Vol. 15, No. 2. 1993. pgs. 49-55.
- Cooper, Adrienne. "Notes From a Concert Journal." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 11-13.
- Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Directory: Performers and Performing Groups." Vol. 8, No. 1-2. 1986. pgs. 8-12.
- Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Music in America: Revival and Beyond." Vol. 8, No. 1-2. 1986. pg. 2-8.
- Dion, Shulamit. "The Simkha That Speaks Your Language! (But Is it Art?)." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 6-8.
- Kligman, Mark. "The Media and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews." Vol. 16, No., 1994. pgs. 9-11.
- Manuel Pedrosa, José. "'The Twelve Meals': A Sephardic Passover Song and its Spanish and European Counterparts." Vol. 15, No. 2. 1993. pgs. 70-73.
- Seroussi, Edwin. "Sephardic Music: A bibliographical Guide with a Checklist of Notated Sources." Vol. 15, No. 2. 1993. pgs. 56-61.
- Shiloah, Amnon. "Ethnomusicological Research in Israel." Vol. 11, No. 1-2. 1989. pg. 42.
- Slobin, Mark. "Women Cantors." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 33.
- Slobin, Mark. "The Music of Jewish Film: A Research Report." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pg. 45.

Orthodox

- Kligman, Mark. "The Media and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews." Vol. 16, No., 1994. pgs. 9-11.

Photoethnography

- Epstein, Shifra. "Photographing a Contemporary Hasidic Pilgrimage to Poland." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 21-22.
- Rose Ronay, Judy. "Portraits of Children of Jewish Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 29-32.
- Trionah Friedman, Karen. "Photoethnography and the Jews of Djerba." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pg. 33.
- Weintraub, Aviva. "An American in Poland: Photography and the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 14-21. 8
- Weintraub, Aviva. "The Photoethnography of Jewish Communities: A Bibliography of Related Books, Articles and Museum Catalogues." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 3-10.

Radio

- Sapoznik, Henry. "Broadcast Ghetto: The Image of Jews on Mainstream American Radio." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 37-39.

Refugees

- Newman, Roberta. "DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 52-56.

Religious Practices, observance

- Alexander, Tamar. "Second Purim: Literary Tradition, Family Self-Image and Ethnic Identity." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 39-48. 8
- Alexander, Tamar. "The Woman Demon in Jewish Customs and Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 21.
- Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Saint Veneration Among North African Jews." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 78-83.
- Berger, Shulamith Z. "Merry Hanukkah! Santa Claus and Captain Hanukkah Team Up Greeting Cards and Jewish-Gentile Relations in the 1980s." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 13-16.
- Berger, Shulamith Z. "Tkhines and the Kindling of Sabbath Candles Through the Ages." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 25.
- Davis, Judith. "Learning about Women Through a Study of Bar Mitzvah: Some Thoughts About Feminist Fieldwork." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 27-28.
- Epstein, Shifra, and Harold Liebowitz. "Sukkah Decoration in Texas and Northern Mexico." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 16-17.
- Kuglemass, Jack. "Purim in Williamsburg." Vol. 10, No. 1. 1988. pgs. 46-47.
- Liebowitz, Harold. "Rabbinic Attitudes Towards Art and Decoration." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. 10-11
- London, Gloria. "The Chosen People and Never on Sunday." Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991. pgs. 22-23.
- Malamud, Randy. "Even the Walls Can Write" An Anecdotal Fragment of Family Heritage." Vol. 15, No. 1, 1993. pgs. 5-10.
- Manuel Pedrosa, José. "'The Twelve Meals': A Sephardic Passover Song and its Spanish and European Counterparts." Vol. 15, No. 2. 1993. pgs. 70-73.
- Nadell, Pamela S. "Women as Rabbis and Religious Leaders." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 30.
- Saltzman, Cynthia. "Jewish Women Coming of Age: The Adult Bat Mitzvah." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 31-32.
- Starr Sered, Susan. "Halakha Modesty and Women From a Female Perspective." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 14-16.
- Umansky, Ellen M. "Exploring Modern Jewish Women's Spirituality." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 35-36.
- Weissler, Chava. "Yiddish Prayers for Women Reflections on Research in Progress." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 37-38.
- Zenner, Walter. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." Vol. 1, No. 2-3. 1977. pgs. 11-17.

Simkha

- Dion, Shulamit. "The Simkha That Speaks Your Language! (But Is it Art?)." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 6-8.

Television

- Shandler, Jeffrey. "Is There a Jewish Way to Watch Television? Notes from a Tuned-in Ethnographer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 19-22.
- Abramovitch, Ilana. "Heritage, Civilization, and the Jews." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 25-29.

Videotape

- Blum-Dobkin, Toby. "Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer." Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 46-50.

Women

- Alexander, Tamar. "The Woman Demon in Jewish Customs and Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 21.
- Alexander, Tamar. "Theme and Genre Relationships between Man and She-Demon in Jewish Folklore." Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2. 1992. pgs. 56-51.
- Amado Bortnick, Rachel, Daniel, Audrey (photos). "The Jewish Women of Turkey." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 96-103.
- Ashton, Dianne. "Grace Aguilar's Popular Theology and the Female Response to Evangelists." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 22.
- Bahloul, Joëlle. "Female Emancipation and Marriage Strategies: North African Jewish Women in France." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 23.
- Baskin, Judith R. "Discovering Jewish Women's History." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 24-25.
- Charnow, Sally. "Seasons of the Soul: Context and Meaning in an Orthodox Girls High School." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 17-20.
- Davis, Judith. "Learning about Women Through a Study of Bar Mitzvah Some Thoughts About Feminist Fieldwork." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 27-28.
- Greenbaum Ucko, Lenora. "Who are the Wives? Who are the Husbands? A Study of Marriage Roles in Jewish Classical Folktales." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 5-10.
- Kliger, Hannah, Schreier, Barbara. "Towards a Study of Jewish Immigrant Women in Boston, 1880-1920 Clothing, Culture and Communication." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 28-29.
- Kravetz Guberman, Jayne. "Jewish Women Artists in Transition." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pgs. 13-14.
- Lande, Marilyn. "Jewish Women and the Visual Arts." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 29-30.
- Nadell, Pamela S. "Women as Rabbis and Religious Leaders." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 30.
- Newman, Esther. "Role in Transformation in a Tunisian Woman's Tale." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 11-13.
- Ochs, Vanessa L. "Learned Women in Jerusalem." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 30-31.
- Saltzman, Cynthia. "Jewish Women Coming of Age The Adult Bat Mitzvah." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 31-32.
- Schonhaut Hirshan, Marjorie. "The Jewish Women's Resource Center: Bringing Women Closer to Judaism and Judaism Closer to Women." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 28.
- Sibahi Greenfield, Zippora. "The Reconstruction of a Jewish Wedding Dress from Maswar, Yemen." Vol. 10, No. 2. pgs. 1988. pg. 15.
- Starr Sered, Susan. "Halakha Modesty and Women From a Female Perspective." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 14-16.
- Tallan, Cheryl. "Medieval Jewish Widows." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pg. 34.
- Umansky, Ellen M. "Exploring Modern Jewish Women's Spirituality." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 35-36.
- Wasserfall, Rahel. "Gender Identification Among Israeli Women." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 36-37.
- Weissler, Chava. "Yiddish Prayers for Women: Reflections on Research in Progress." Vol. 12, No. 1-2. 1990. pgs. 37-38.

World War II

- Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria from Liberation from Ottoman Rule to the Second World War 1879-1940." Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993. pgs. 117-128.
- Newman, Roberta. "DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994. pgs. 52-56.

Directory of Back Issues

Volume 1, No. 1 (1977) INAUGURAL ISSUE

Editorial. 1.

Courses: Summer 1977

- "Problems in Folklore." 2
- "Jewish Folklore." 2
- "Elementary Yiddish." 2
- "Review Session." 2
- "Intermediate Language and Literature I and II." 2
- "Advanced Language and Literature." 2

Courses: Academic Year 1977-78

- "Judezmo Language and Literature." 2
- Internship: "Jewish Museology." 2

Conferences and Meetings-Reports:

- American Anthropological Association. 2-3
- Association for Jewish Studies. 3
- YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.3
- American Folklore Society. 3
- The Folklore and Ethnography Circle. 3-4

Conferences and Meetings-Calendar:

- Association for Jewish Studies Regional Conference Program: Jewish Folklore. 4
- Yiddish Studies Colloquium. 4.
- Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies. 4
- Visual Dimension: Aspect of Jewish Art. 4

Research Projects

- Shifra Epstein: doctoral dissertation work on Purim. 4

Museum News

- Museum of American Jewish History. 4
- The Jewish Museum. 4-5
- The Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia 5
- North Carolina Museum of Art. 5
- New York Historical Society. 5
- YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. 5
- Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica. 5
- Hebrew Union College: Skirball Museum of Judaica. 5
- Yeshiva University Museum. 5

Performers, Craftspeople, and Resource People:

- Joseph Elias. 5-6
- Kavkazi. 6
- Ruth Rubin. 6
- The Jewish Museum Street Festival. 6

Publications and Media:

- Working Papers in Sephardic and Oriental Studies. 6
- Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies. 6-7
- Shiloah: Discovering Jewish Identity Through Oral/Folk History. 7
- The Holocaust: 1933-1945. 7

Slide Bank of Max Weinreich Center. 7

Yugnturf. 7

Musica Judaica: Journal of the American Society for Jewish Music. 7

The Journal of Jewish Art. 7

Grants and Support

- Cecil Roth Trust. 7
- Lady Davis Fellowship Trust. 7-8
- Scholarship and Fellowship Program in Jewish Studies. 8
- The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. 8

Notes and Queries

Volume 1, No. 2-3 (1977) GENERAL ISSUE

Editorial. 1.

Conference Calendar

- Society for Ethnomusicology. 2
- American Folklore Society. 2
- Association for Jewish Studies. 2
- Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies. 2

Performers and Performances

- "Sons of David, Daughters of Miriam." 2

Grants:

- Project Arcivim. 3
- American Film Institute. 3
- National Endowment for the Arts:
 - NEA: Folk Arts. 3
 - NEA: Museum Program. 3-4
- The National Foundation for Jewish Culture: Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship. 10
- Bunis, David M. "La agada"—Ladino in Passover Seder. 4

Archives, Libraries, and Research Institutes:

- Chicago Jewish Archives. 5
- YIVO Archives. 5
- Foreign Affairs Research Documentation Center. 5
- The International Survey of Jewish Monuments. 5
- Synagogue Architectural and Art Library. 5
- University of Texas. 6

Publications and Media:

Books:

- Sandrow, Nahma. *Vagabond Stars*. 6
- Raphael, Freddy. *Juifs en Alsace: Culture, Societe Histoire*. 6

Bibliographies:

- A Catalogue of Doctoral Dissertations. 6.
- Oppenheim, Micha. *A Guide to the Study and Practice of Judaism: A Selected List*. 6

Periodicals and Articles:

- Clarfield, Geoffrey. "Music in the Moroccan Jewish Community of Toronto." 6-7

Jason, Heddy. "The Story About David and Goliath: Is it a Folk Epic?" 7
The Jewish Daily Forward. 7
Davka. 7

Dance:

Five Kurdish Dances. Gurit Kadman and Pamela Squires.
Israel Dance. ed. Giora Manor and Judith Brin Ingber. 7

Music:

Armistead, Samuel G. *Judeo-Spanish Ballads in the Mendez Pidal Archive (Catalog and Index of Ballads and Song)*. 7
Armistead, Samuel. "Recent Developments in Judeo-Spanish Ballad Research Bibliography." 8-9

Lectures. 9

Conferences and Meetings: Reports

Yiddish Studies Colloquium. 9

Museum News. 9

Courses: Academic Year 1977-78

"Judezmo Language and Literature." 9
"Law Liturgy and Midrash." 9
"The Tales of Reb Nahman of Bratslav." 9
"Yiddish Folklore." 9
"The Artifact as Cultural Text." 10

Notes and Queries. 10

Review Article:

Zenner, Walter P. "Kashrut and Rationality: The Dietary Laws in Recent Anthropological Writing." 11-17

Volume 1, No. 4 (1978) GENERAL ISSUE

Editorial. 1

Conferences, Meetings, and Lectures:

Calendar:

American Anthropological Association. 2
Economic Specialization: The Middleman Minorities. 2
Interdisciplinary Conference on Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies. 2
First World Workshop on Social Action and Community Theater. 2
World Congress on Jewish Music. 2
American Folklore Society. 3
Jewish Folklore Circle. 3
Lecture: Yaakov Maitlis. 3

Reports:

Association For Jewish Studies. 4
American Folklore Society. 4

Courses: Summer 1978

Yiddish Language, Literature, and Culture. 4

Archives, Libraries, and Research Institutes:

The Jewish Women's Resource Center. 4-5
The National Institute on the Holocaust. 5

The Martin Steinberg Center. 5
Archives of Music and Performing Arts. 5
Philadelphia Research and Resource Facilities:
Jewish Library Association of the Delaware Valley. 5
Gratz College Library. 5
Gratz College Tyson Music Dept. 5
Dropsie University Library. 6
Philadelphia Jewish Archives. 6
Museum of American Jewish History. 6
Rosenbach Museum. 6
The Directory to Jewish Philadelphia. 6
A Guidebook to Jewish Philadelphia. 6
Jewish Philadelphia — A Student's Guide. 6

Museum News:

Yeshiva University Museum. 6
Jewish Museum. 7
Museum of American Jewish History. 7
Anthropological Museum of the People of New York. 7
Newsletter: Museums Collaborative. 7
Judaica Auctions. 7

Exhibit Report:

Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum. 7-8

Publications:

Books and Monographs:

Folklore Research Center Studies. ed. Dov Noy and I. Ben-Ami. 8
The Changing Peasantry of Eastern Europe. ed. Joel and Barbara Halpern. 8
Halpern, Joel. *A Historical Perspective on Jewish Family/Households in Eastern Europe: Preliminary Case Study for Conference on Jewish Fertility*. 8
Mlotek, Eleanor Gordon. *Mir Trogn a Gezan-: The New Book of Yiddish Songs*. 8
Vinecourt, E. *Polish Jews: The Final Chapter*. 8
Twelve From the Soviet Underground. 8
Davidowitz, Dr. Moshe. *Symbols in Jewish Art*. 8
Nador, George. *Everyday Jewish Life and Manners*. 8
Rubenstein, Shmuel. *Mitzvot and Jewish Law*. 8
Dicker, Herman. *A Jewish Family Trail: The Dickers and Their Mates*. 8-9
The Sephardic Cooks. 9
Cooking the Sephardic Way. 9
Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies.
Dorys, Benedykt Jerzy. *Kazimierz nad Wisla: cykl fotograficzny powstały w latach 1931-32*. 9

Periodicals:

Holocaust Newsletter. 9
Options: the Jewish Resource Newsletter. 9
The Paper Pomegranate. 9-10
Intercommunity Arts. 10
Folklife Center News. 10
Hebrew Annual Review. 10

- Medium. 10
 Keeping Posted. 10
- Bibliographies:
- Halpern, Joel. *From Shtetl to Destruction: The Jewish Experience in Eastern Europe*. 10
 Halpern, Joel, and A. Newberger. *Bibliography of Judaic Cultures*. 10
 Jewish Music. 10.
- Film:
- Jewish Media Service. 10-11
 The Samaritans: People of Sacred Mountain (Dr. Johanna Spector). 11
 The Ethnic Film Series. 11
 The First New York Yiddish Film Festival. 11
 Filmstrips and Narration Cassettes. 11
- Grants, Awards, Jobs:
- The Seltzer-Brodsky Prize. 11
 The Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. 11
 Fulbright-Hayes Awards. 11
 IREX Grants. 12
 Kosciuszko Foundation. 12
 Grants for Research on Women. 12
 Foreign Language and Area Studies Research Program. 12
 Margolin, Judith. *About Foundations: How to Find the Facts You Need to Get a Grant*. 12
Folklife and the Federal Government: Activities, Resources, Funds, and Services. ed. Linda Coe. 12
 Jobs. 12
- Performers, Artists, and Craftspeople:
- Derech Olam. 12
 Synagogue Designers and Decorators. 12
 Ethnic Folklife Festivals. 13
 Yiddish Folksong and Klezmer Concert. 13
 Purim Play. 13
- Notes and Queries:
- Chad Gadya Study. 13-14
 Jewish Folk Music Resource Guide. 14
- Research Projects:
- Rozen, David J. Hasidim and Health-Related Behavior. 14
 Salzmänn, Laurence. Jewish Community in Romania. 14
 Klezmer Study. 14-15
 Klezmer Project. 15
 Heilman, Samuel C. "On Training Natives to be Strangers". 16-17

Volume 2, No. 1 (1978) GENERAL ISSUE

Editorial. 1

Conferences, Meetings, and Lectures:

Calendar:

- American Folklore Society. 2
 Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. 2
 Association for Jewish Studies. 2
 Urban Anthropology Group. 2
 First World Workshop on Social Action and

Community Theater. 2

Reports:

- Jewish Life in the United States: Perspectives From the Social Sciences. 2
 Fromm, Annette B. "The Inter-Urban Immigrants, the Sephardic Jews of Salonica". 2
 Levinson, Robert E. "Jewish Communities on the Great Plains". 2
 Schwartz, Anita. "Ideology of Work and Mothering: A Case Study of Eastern European Left-Wing Jewish Women". 2

Grants:

- Scholarships and Fellowships for Study: A Selected Bibliography. 2
 IREX Postdoctoral and Dissertation Programs. 3
 National Council for Soviet and East European Research. 3
 National Geographic Society Research Grants. 3
 American Council of Learned Societies. 3
 The Center For Field Research. 3
 National Science Foundation Fellowship Program. 3
 National Endowment for the Humanities Youth Projects 3
 Wenner-Gren Foundation. 3

Archives, Libraries, Research Institutes:

- Leo Baeck Institute. 3
 The Rashi Association for the Preservation of Jewish Cultural Monuments in Europe. 3
 YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. 4

Museums and Exhibits:

- Museum of the Jewish Diaspora. 4
 The Greater Cleveland Ethnographic Museum. 4
 Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum. 4
 Magnes Museum. 4
 Rochester Institute of Technology. 4
 B'nai B'rith Museum. 4
 The National Archives. 4
 Ethnographic Exhibitions and Ethnic Image: "Jewish Life in Morocco". 4

Courses: Academic Year 1978-79

- University of Pennsylvania. 5
 Max Weinreich Center (YIVO). 5
 Jewish Theological Seminary of America. 5
 Laban Institute of Movement Studies. 5
 Ohio State University. 5

Publications:

Books and Monographs:

- Provisional International Directory of Public Jewish Ethnographical Collections*. 5
 Muller-Lancet, Aviva, and Avi T. Nilsson-Ben Zvi. *Collection Jewish Ethnography*. 5
 Muller-Lancet, Aviva. *Typology for Afro-Asian Costume, Primarily from Islamic Countries*. 5
 Armistead, Samuel G. and Joseph H. Silverman. *Romances JudeoEspanoles de Tanger*. 5
 Sturtevant, William. *Guide to Field Collecting of*

Ethnographic Specimens. 6

Moore, Kenneth. *Those of the Street: The Catholic Jews of Mallorca.* 6

Food: A Yiddish Terminology. 6

Workmen's Circle. 6

Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies. 6

Ran, Leyzer. *Jerusalem of Lithuania.* 6

Periodicals:

Immigration History Newsletter. 6

Jewish Book Annual. 6

Yugnturf. 6

La Corónica. 6

Contemporary Jewry: A Journal of Sociological Inquiry. 6

Bibliographies:

Davies, Norman. *Poland, Past and Present: A Select Bibliography of Works in English.* 6

Singerman, Robert. *The Jews in Spain and Portugal: A Bibliography.* 7.

Media:

Photographs and slides:

Salzmann, Laurence. Two Photograph Portfolios. 7
The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature in American Popular Graphics 1850-1922. 7

Records and Tapes:

Badkhones. 7
Lovers, Dreamers, and Thieves. 7

Film:

Kaplan, Lisa. *Anna Brown.* 7
Number Our Days. 7
Wandering Jews Project. 7

Artifacts:

Trilingual Greeting Cards. 7

Performers, Artists, Craftspeople:

Arie Ovadia. 7
Tuvia S. Mechaber. 8

Research Projects:

Schwartz, Rosaline. *Landsmanshaftn.* 8
Abraham, Eva. *Curacao Jewry.* 8
Gellerman, Jill. *Hasidic Dance.* 8
Ambrosetti, Ronald J. *Folklore of American Jewish Groups.* 8

Notes and Queries:

Yiddish Sheet Music. 8
Ethnic Caricatures. 8
Shai, Donna. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographical Review (1931-1974)." 9-10

Volume 2, No. 2-3 (1979) HASIDIC JEWS

Editorial. 1

Conferences, Meetings, Lectures:

Calendar:

Conference on Folklore in New York City. 2
American Folklore Society. 2

International Seminar on the Bible in Dance. 2

International Society for Folk-Narrative Research. 2

Sief Kommission Fur Volksdichtung. 2

Association for Jewish Studies. 2

First National Havurah Conference. 2

53rd Annual YIVO Conference.

Reports:

First International Congress for the Study of the Sephardic and Oriental Jewry. 2-3
International Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society. 3

International Symposium: Literary Translation and Ethnic Community. 3

South East European Studies Seminar. 3

YIVO Institute for Jewish Research 52nd Annual Conference. 3

Association for Jewish Studies. 3

Conference on Culture and Community among New York Jews. 4

The Role of the Jewish Academic in Jewish Affairs. 4
Women and Folklore Conference. 4

Folklore and the Public Sector. 4
Hebrew Literature and Language: An Historical Perspective. 4

Jewish Historical Society of New York. 4
Third Annual Conference on Southern Jewish History.

Grants:

Social Science Research Council. 4
Alexander Von Humboldt Foundation Research Fellowships. 4
Richard Carley Hunt Memorial Fellowship. 4
Wesleyan Center for the Humanities. 4
Visual Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. 5
Newberry Library Fellowships. 5
Institute for Computers in Jewish Life. 5
Danforth Graduate Fellowships. 5
Catalogue of Federal Domestic Assistance. 5
Federal Register. 5
U.S. Government Manual. 5
Rockefeller Foundation. 5
Donner Foundation Development Grants. 5
German Academic Exchange Service Grants. 5
Howard Foundation Fellowships. 5
The Institute for Advanced Study. 6
Jewett Foundation Program Grants. 6
Beneficiary Grants for Student Groups. 6
American Philosophical Society Grants. 6
Child Health and Human Development Grant. 6

Archives, Libraries, Research Institutes:

Jewish Historical Society of England. 6
Mocatta Library. 6
Institute for Jewish and Folklore Research. 6
The Sephardic House. 6
Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of

Religion. [6](#)
 YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. [12](#)
 Harvard University Library. [12](#)
 Leo Baeck Institute. [12](#)
 Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center. [12](#)

Museums and Exhibits:

Yeshiva University Museum. [7](#)
 B'nai B'rith Klutznick Museum. [7](#)
 Jewish Museum. [7](#)
 Victoria and Albert Museum. [8](#)
 Spertus Museum of Judaica. [8](#)
 National Foundation for Jewish Culture. [8](#)
 Brooklyn Museum. [8](#)
 Museum of American Jewish History. [8](#)
 The Judah L. Magnes Museum. [8](#)
 Skirball Museum. [8](#)

Courses: Summer 1979:

Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. [8](#)
 Jewish Theological Seminary of America Graduate Summer School. [8](#)
 Holocaust Seminar: Trip to Eastern Europe and Israel. [8](#)
 Columbia University/Max Weinrich Center (YIVO). [9](#)
 Jewish Theological Seminary. [9](#)
 Hebrew College Summer Institute. [9](#)
 George Washington University. [9](#)
 University of Maryland. [9](#)
 American University. [9](#)
 Institute of Urban Ethnic Music. [9](#)

Publications:

Books and Monographs:

The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Folklore, and Literature. ed. Marvin L. Herzog, et al. [9](#)
 Matisoff, James A. *Blessings, Curses, Hopes and Fears: Psycho-Ostensive Expressions in Yiddish.* [9](#)
Ethnic Leadership in America. ed. John Higham. [9](#)
 Bayor, Ronald L. *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians in New York City, 1929-1941.* [10](#)
 Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Marranos.* [10](#)
 Dembitz, Lewis N. *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home.* [10](#)
 Isaacs, Abraham S. *Stories from the Rabbis.* [10](#)
 Dennys, N. B. *The Folk-Lore of China: And Its Affinities with that of the Aryan and Semitic Races.* [10](#)
 Greenberg, Irving. *Guide to Purim.* [21](#)
 Greenberg, Irving. *Guide to Passover.* [21](#)
 Mayer, Egon. *Intermarriage Among American Jews: Consequence, Prospects, and Policies.* [21](#)
American Jewish Ephemeria: A Bicentennial Exhibition from the Judaica Collection of the Harvard College Library [21](#)

Halperin, Don A. *The Ancient Synagogues of the Iberian Peninsula.* [21](#)
 Rose, Peter L. *Strangers in Their Midst: Small-Town Jews and Their Neighbors.* [21](#)
 Avenary, Hanoch. *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant Between 1500 and 1900.* [21](#)
 Preuss, Julius. *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine.* [24](#)
 Heilman, Samuel C. *Synagogue Life: A Study in Symbolic Interaction.* [24](#)
Jewish Films in the United States: A Comprehensive Survey and Descriptive Filmography. [24](#)
 Leslie, D.D. *The Survival of the Chinese Jews: The Jewish Community of Kaifeng.* [24](#)
 Krichner, P.C. *Judisches Ceremoniel.* [24](#)

Periodicals:

Orbis Musicae. [10](#)
Yedies Vegen Yiddish/Yiddish Studies Newsletter. [10](#)
Modern Jewish Studies Newsletter. [10](#)
Jewish Book Annual. [10](#)

Bibliographies:

Comprehensive Bibliography and Subject Index of Jewish Music. [10](#)
Asian and African Jews in the Middle East 1860-1971. ed. Hayyim J. Cohen and Zvi Yehuda. [10](#)
 Attal, Robert. *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord.* [10](#)

Media:

Film:

Schnall, Peter. *Oscar.* [10](#)
 Bank, Mirra. *Yudie.* [10](#)
 Israeli and Judaica Films. [10](#)
Medium. [11](#)

Photographs and Slides:

Photographs of Jewish Life in Pre-War Poland. [11](#)
Who Could Forget. [11](#)

Performers, Artists, Craftspeople:

The Klezmerim. [11](#)
 Nama Orchestra. [11](#)
 Tribute to Dave Tarras. [11](#)
 Festival of Jewish Life. [11](#)
 Festival of Yiddish Theatre and Music. [11](#)
 Yiddish Drama Group. [11](#)

Obituary: Margaret Mead 1901-1978. [12](#)

Burack, Lynda. "Hasidism: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Articles of Ethnographic Interest (1965-1975)." [13-21](#)
 Astro, Alan. "Gurwirth's Articles on Hasidic Communities." [22-24](#)

Research Notes and Queries:

Krause, Corinne Azen. *Grandmothers, Mothers and Daughters.* [24](#)
 Slobin, Mark. *New Yiddish Theater Project.* [24](#)
 Klezmer Research Project. [25](#)
 Ward, Seth. *Jews in the Founding of Islam.* [25](#)

Morgentaler, Goldie. The Jew as Portrayed in Britain by Non-Jewish Writers. 25
 Untranslated Amulets. 25
 Osofsky, Dorothy. Jewish Family Music Bank. 25
 Judaica Lectures. 25
 Friedlander, Judith. Kovno Immigrants. 25
 Armistead, Samuel G. Ballad Collecting. 26
 Kharrazi, Lily, et al. Women and Rituals. 26
 Siporin, Steve. Venetian Jewish Folk Holiday Festivals and Customs. 26
 Roskies, David, and Alan Mintz. A New Journal of Jewish Literary History. 26
 Summer Jobs. 26
 Jewish Festival Planning. 26
 Bronx Synagogue Photographs. 26
 Postal, Bernard. Holocaust Memorials. 26
 Ingber, Judith Brin. Jewish Dance Research. 26
 Shpaner-Arber. 26

Volume 2, No. 4 (1979) GENERAL ISSUE

Editorial. 1

Conferences and Events:

Calendar:

American Folklore Society. 2
 Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. 2
 54th Annual YIVO conference. 2
 American Anthropological Association. 2
 A Bicentennial Celebration: Dance as Social and Popular Entertainment. 2
 Jewish Ethnic Music Festival/Conference. 2
 Folk Culture in the Bronx. 2
 Eighth World Conference of Jewish Studies. 2
 Monthly Seminar on New York Jews. 2

Reports:

American Folklore Society. 2
 American Anthropological Association. 2
 International Survey of Jewish Monuments Annual Meeting. 2
 International Conference on General and Jewish Lexicography. 3
 Jewish Folklore Colloquium Series. 3
 The Falasha File: A Living Documentary on the Plight of Ethiopia's Jews. 3
 Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands. 3
 Conference on Jews, Cities and Modernist Culture. 3
 The First Annual Jewish Theatre Conference/ Festival. 3

Grants, Internships, Prizes:

Directory of Financial Aids for International Activities. 3
 Fellowship Guide to Western Europe. 3
 Schlachter, Gail Ann. Directory of Financial Aids for Women. 3

National Institute of Aging. 3
 Leo Baeck Institute Fellowships. 3
 Jewish History Fellowships. 3
 Jewish War Veterans Scholarships. 3
 S & H Lectureship Program. 3
 Translation Center Awards. 4
 Essay Contest. 4
 Seltzer-Brodsky Prize. 4
 Annual W.H.R. Rivers Prize Student Paper Competition. 4

Professional Opportunities:

Project Areivim. 4
 Volunteers. Project Ezra. 4
 Intern. *Jewish Student Press Service*. 4
 Book Reviewers. *Judaica Book News*. 4
 Writer. 4
 Modern Jewish Literature and Culture. 4
 New Photographer's Club. 4.

Archives, Libraries, Research Institutes:

Association for the Study of Jewish Languages. 4
 Rashi Association for the Preservation of Jewish Cultural Monuments in Europe. 5
 International Survey of Jewish Monuments. 5.
 One Generation After. 5
 Klezmer Archives/Ladino Archives. 5.
 National Jewish Conference Center. 5
 Hasidic Art Institute (CHAI). 5
 YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. 5
 Jewish Vegetarians of America. 5

Museums and Exhibits:

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. 5
 Western Jewish History Center. 5
 Judah Magnes Museum. 5-6
 Braunschweigische Landesmuseum für Geschichte und Volkstum. 6
 The Philadelphia Museum of Judaica. 6
 Yeshiva University Museum. 6
 The Jewish Museum. 6
 Skirball Museum. 6
 Visual Arts Center, "G" Gallery. 6
 Jewish Historical Museum. 6
 The Jerusalem City Museum. 6

Courses:

New York University. 6
 Queens College. 6
 Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies. 7
 Jewish Intralinguistics and the University of Haifa. 7
 Sephardic House, Congregation Shearith Israel. 7
 University of North Carolina. 7
 Princeton University. 7
 Israel Photographic Workshop. 7
 Summer Institute for Urban Ethnic Music. 7

Publications:

Reference Works:

- Index to Hebrew Periodicals.* 7
- Complete Directory of the Jewish Press.* 7
- A Guide to the Arts and Culture in the New York Area.* 7
- University Microfilms International.* 7
- Sepher News. A Selected List of Recent Books of Jewish Interest.* 7-8

Books and Monographs:

- Weyl, Robert and Freddy Raphael. *L'imagerie juive d'Alsace.* 8
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *The Western Ashkenazic Torah Binder: The Illumination of a Cultural Text.* 8
- Brezina, Maria. *Polish Language Used by National Minorities in Literary and Folkloristic Texts: Polish Language Spoken by Jews from the Southern Borderland.* 8

Periodicals:

- Yeda-'Am. Journal of the Israel Folklore Society.* 8
- The Drama Review.* 8
- In the Tradition.* 8
- Essays in Dance Research.* 8
- New Jewish Times.* 8
- Judaica Bohemiae.* 8
- Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art.* 8
- Journal of Baltic Studies.* 8
- Jewish Socialist Critique.* 8
- New German Critique.* 8
- Vegetarian Times.* 8

Media:

Photographs and Slides:

- Toll, Terry. *People of the Pale: Reminiscences of Jewish Life in Russia.* 9
- Salzmann, Laurence. *Baie/Bath Scenes.* 9

Film:

- Jewish Rituals on Film.* 9
- Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists.* 9
- Paratroopers.* 9

Records:

- Klezmer Music. 9
- Klezmer Music: Recordings from the Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.* 9
- Dave Tarras. *Master of the Jewish Clarinet Music for the Traditional Jewish Wedding.* 9
- Jewish Klezmer Music.* 9
- The Klezmerim: "Streets of Gold".* 9
- Hasidic Tunes of Dancing and Rejoicing.* 9-10
- Yiddish Folksongs.* 9-10

Performers and Artists:

- Jewish Ethnic Music Festival/Conference.* 10
- Giora Feidman. 10
- Klezmer Conservatory Band. 10
- Kapelye. 10
- Carol Freeman. 10

JBW Lecture Bureau Directory of Performing Artists,
Jewish Arts 1980-82. 11

Merin, Jennifer, and Elizabeth B. Burdick. *International Directory of Theater, Dance, and Folklore Festivals.* 11

Avenary, Hanoach. *Encounters of East and West in Music.* 11

Israel Studies in Musicology. 11

Schwartz, Julian. *Portrait un eseyen.* 11

Research Projects, Notes and Queries:

- French Oral History Project. 10
- Survey of Latin American Jewish Studies. 10
- Israel Anthropological Association. 10
- Kuglemass, Jack and Yoav Levy. *The Miracle of Intervale Avenue: Aging in the South Bronx.* 11
- Jewish Folkways Foodways Project. 11
- Shuldiner, David. *Jewish Trade Union Movement.* 11
- Crown of Feathers. 11
- Dissertations and Theses:
 - Goldstein, Sidney. "Suicide in Rabbinic Literature." 11
 - Schneider, Samuel. "The Traditional Jewish World in the Writings of Joseph Hayim Brenner." 11
 - Rudich, Bat-Sheva. "A Study of Marriages Contracted by the Jews of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1905-1936." 11
- Obituary: Isaiah Shachar (1935-1977)-Joseph Guttman. 11

Volume 3, No. 1-4 (1980) DIRECTORY

Editorial. 1

International Directory of Researchers in Jewish Folklore,

Ethnology and Related Fields.

Compiled and Edited by Babara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett,
et. al. 2-30

Index of Directory:

- by Subjects. 30-33
- by Languages, Groups, Locations, and Historical Periods. 33-36

Volume 4, No. 1-2 (1981) JEWISH MUSIC AND DANCE

Editorial. 1

Resources for the Study of Jewish Music and Dance I- Archives,

Libraries and Research Projects:

- Myers, Jane. "Preliminary Guide to Jewish Music Holdings in Selected American Archives and Libraries." 2-4
- Sharvit, Uri. "The Jewish Music Research Center: Trends in the Study of Jewish Music." 4-5
- Herzog, Avigdor. "The National Sound Archives in Jerusalem." 5-6

Resources for the Study of Jewish Music and Dance II-

Bibliographies:

- Guberman, Jayne Kravetz. "Bibliographies, Periodicals and Record Companies Dealing with Jewish Music and Dance." 6-7

Gellerman, Jill. "Sources on Jewish Dance: A Selected Bibliography (1901-1981)." 7, 24-26

Tools for the documentation of Jewish Music and Dance - Field Guides and Questionnaires:

Isaacs, Susan L. "A Selected Bibliography of Fieldwork Guides." 26-27

Bartis, Peter. "Folklife and Fieldwork: A Layman's Introduction to Field Techniques." 31-32

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Questionnaire: Documenting a Song and its Performance." 27-28

Staub, Shalom. "Yemenite Jewish Dance Questionnaire: On the Relationship Between Dance and Music." 28-29

Gellerman, Jill. "Hasidic Dance Questionnaire." 29

Friedland, LeeEllen. "A Step Toward Movement Notation: The Case of a *Freykhe* as Danced in the Ukraine, 1900-1915." 29-31

Funding sources:

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Resources for Developing and Funding Projects on Jewish Traditional Music and Dance." 31

Jewish Ethnic Music Festival:

Performers Biographies:

Abeksera, Meir Michel. 8

Abelson, Robert Paul. 8

Amos, Naomi. 8

Badoch, Haddassah. 8

Bar-Nissim, Shlomo. 8

Berman, Leslie. 8

Bery, Bela. 8

Cardozo, Abraham Lopez. 8

Cassorla, Moris. 8-9

Eichel, Ellen B. 9

Elias, Joc. 9

Elisha, Haim. 9

Ellin, David. 9

El-Shawan, Salwa. 9

Isaac's Field. 9-10

Freelander, Daniel Hillel. 10

Friedland, Lee Ellen. 10

Gadish, Menashe. 10

Gellerman, Jill. 10-11

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 11

Goodman, Ruth. 11

Greenfield, Zipora Sibahi. 11

Greenspan, Jay. 11

Greenstein, Robin. 11

Haddon, Jon. 11

Halevy, Ohela. 11

Hazan, Victoria (Rosa). 11-12

Hefter, Sy. 12

Israel, Vita. 12

Kalisch, Shoshana. 12

Kapelye. 12

Kaufman-Shelemay, Kay. 12-13

The Kinnor Trio. 13

Kivel, Shulamite. 13

Klass, David. 13

Levy, Yoav. 13

Mesznik, Joan. 13

Dahbany-Miraglia, Dina. 13

The Neginah Orchestra. 13

Netsky, Hankus. 13

Pasternak, Velvel. 13-14

Potashnick, Ilene. 14

Rosenfeld, Tamar. 14

Rubin, Ruth. 14

Sapoznik, Henry. 14

Sapoznik, Cantor Zindel. 14

Saxton, Lydia. 14

Schachter, Zalman. 14

Schlosser, Peter. 14, 19

Schwartz, Leon. 19

Schwartz, Teddi. 19

Shushan, Aaron Ben. 19

Silbermann, Kurt. 19

Slobin, Mark. 19-20

Spector, Johanna. 20

Statman, Andy. 20

Staub, Shalom. 20

Tarras, Dave. 20

Uziel, Danny. 21

Waletzky, Joshua. 21

Waletzky, Tsirl. 21

Weiner, Lazar. 21

Weiss, Helen. 21

Weisser, Albert. 21

Zerubavel, Yael. 21

Aber, Ita. 21

Boden, Kristina. 21

Salzmann, Laurence. 21-22

Sirotn, Alexander. 22

Volume 4, No. 3-4 (1981) JEWS OF THE LEVANT, YEMEN, AND INDIA

Editorial. 1

Meetings, Lectures:

Reports:

54th Annual Conference of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. 2

American Anthropological Association. 2

American Folklore Society. 2

Conference on Israeli Ethnicity. 2

Association for the Study and Preservation of Yemenite Jewish Culture. 2

First International Congress for the Study of the Sephardic and Oriental Jewry. 2

Grants and Awards:

Wexler Fellowships. 2

Interns for Peace. 2

Bertha Anolic Memorial Annual Arts Award. 2

The Jerusalem Center for Anthropological Studies. 2

Archives, Libraries, Research Institutes:

Center for the Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of

Sephardic and Eastern Jews. 3

The Jerusalem Center for Anthropological Studies. 3

Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research. 3

Publications:

Books:

Stillman, Norman A. *The Jews of Arab Lands. A History and Sourcebook.* 3

Hakohen, Mordechai. *The Book of Mordechai: A Study of the Jews of Libya.* 3

Musleah, Rabbi Ezekiel N. *On the Banks of the Ganges. the Sojourn of the Jews in Calcutta.* 3

Elias, Flower and Judith Elias Cooper. *The Jews of Calcutta-The Autobiography of a Community 1798-1972.* 3

Sutton, Joseph A.D. *Magic Carpet: Aleppo In Flatbush. 3 Jewish Societies in the Middle East: Community, Culture and Authority.* ed. Shlomo Deshen and Walter P. Zenner. 3

The Folk Literature of the Kurdistan Jews: An Anthology. 3

Tamir, Vicki. *Bulgaria and Her Jews. The History of a Dubious Symbiosis.* 3

The Jerusalem Cathedral: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography, and Ethnography of the Land of Israel. 4

Jewish Tradition in the Diaspora. ed. Michael Maswari Caspi.

Schwarzfuchs, Simon. *Les Juifs D'Algerie et la France (1830-1855).* 4

Easton, Joseph. *The Urban Village.* 4

Periodicals:

Levy, Yoav and Cable Neuhaus. "What's Really Threatening Ethiopia's Black Jews: An Eyewitness Report." *Find Magazine.*

Shokeid, M. "Jewish Existence in a Berber Environment." *Les Relations entre Juifs et Musulmans en Afrique du Nord xix-xx siecles.* 4

P'anim. 4

Musica Judaica. 4

Reference:

Weingrod, Alex. "Israel: An Annotated Bibliography." *In the Central Middle East.* 4

Handelman, D. and S. Deshen. *The Social Anthropology of Israel: A Bibliographical Essay with Primary Reference to Loci of Social Stress.* 4

Cohen, Erik. "Recent Anthropological Studies of Middle Eastern Communities and Ethnic Groups." In

Annual Review of Anthropology. 4

Media:

Records:

Morasha: Traditional Jewish Musical Heritage. 4

Greek-Jewish Musical Traditions. 4

Music of South Arabia. 4

Folk Music of Palestine. 4

Margalit: Travel with Me My Dove and Listen to Me.

Songs of the Middle East. 4

Sephardic Folksongs. 4

Yemenite Passover. 4

Babylonian Biblical Chants. 4

Music of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. 4

Field Recordings of Kurdish Jews. 4

Jewish Music. Religious Psalmody. 5

Performers:

Greenfield, Ziporah Sibahi. 5

Articles:

Johnson, Barbara Cottle. "Cochin Jewish Folklore:

Bibliographic Review and Research Plans." 5-6

Zenner, Walter P. "The Syrian Jews of Metropolitan New York City: A Bibliographic Guide." 6-8

Sabar, Yona. "Jews of Kurdistan: A Bibliographic Review." 8-9

Goldstein, Judith. "Iranian Jews in Iran and Israel: Research Report." 9

Druyan, Nitza. "The Yemenite Jewish Community: Immigration and Absorption." 10-11

Dahbany-Miragila, Dina. "Yemenites in America: The 'Invisible' Jews." 12-13

Staub, Shalom. "General Trends in the Folkloric Literature and a Review of Research on Yemenite Jewish Dance." 13-14

Volume 5, No. 1-2 (1982) SEPHARDIC JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF NORTH AFRICA AND EUROPE

Shokeid, Moshé. "Continuity and Change Among North African Jews in Israel." 1-3

Editorial. 3

Conferences, Meetings, Lectures:

13th Annual Conference of the American Society of Sephardic Studies. 3

Sephardi Speakers Bureau. 3

Grants:

Postdoctoral Fellowships for Research in Spain. 3

Libraries and Programs:

Sephardic Reference Room, Mendel Gottesman Library. 4

Sephardic Studies Program. 4

Sephardic House. 4

Museums and Exhibits:

The Sephardic Federation of France. 4

Nahalot: A Neighborhood of Jerusalem. 4

The Ethnographic Museum. 4

Jewish Art in the Sephardic Synagogue. 4

Publications:

Reference:

Bunis, David. *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography*. 4

Periodicals:

Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore. 4
L'Mashal: Journal of Jewish Folklore and Folklife. 4-5
The American Sephardi. 5
Anthropological Quarterly. 5
The Sephardic Scholar. 5
Anthropologia. 5
Orbis Musicae. 5
Newsletter of the World Union of Jewish Studies. 5

Books:

Many Hands: A Gathering of Sephardic Songs and Proverbs with a Poem in Judezmo and English, selected and translated Stephen Levy. 5
Judeo-Spanish Ballads from New York. 5
Avenary, Hanoach. *Encounters of East and West in Music*. 5
Angel, Marc D. *The Jews of Rhodes, The History of a Sephardic Community*. 5

Media:

Film:
Son of the Sephardim. 5

Recordings:

Sephardic Songs from the Balkans. 5
Sephardic Liturgical Music. 5

Performers:

Voice of the Turtle. 5-6

Research Notes and Queries:

Glazier, Jack. Ashkenazic-Sephardic Relations. 6
Arditti, Adolfo. General Nomenclature of Sephardic Family Names. 6
Levy, Isaac Jack. Sephardic Folk Beliefs. 6
Siporin, Steve. "Italian Jewry." 6-7
Goldberg, Harvey E. "The Jews of Libya." 7-8.
Bahloul, Joelle. "Current Anthropological Research on Algerian Jews Living in France." 8-10
Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria." 10-11

Obituaries:

Werner J. Cahnman. 12
Fred Berk. 12

Volume 5, No. 3-4 (1982) GENERAL ISSUE

Book Reviews:

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*. ed. Mark Slobin. 1
Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Die Schejnen und die Prosten: Untersuchungen zum Schonheitsideal der Ostjuden in Bezug auf Körper und Kleidung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Chassidismus*. by Tamar Samogyi. 1-3

Editorial. 3

Conferences:

American Anthropological Association. 3
American Folklore Society Annual Meeting. 3
American Folklore Society. 3-4
27th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology. 4
Association for Jewish Studies Thirteenth Annual Conference. 4
Jewish Settlement and Community in the Modern Western World. 4
International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women. 4
Reflections on Jewish Warsaw. 4
Dancing into Marriage: The Jewish Wedding Dance. 4
1st International Conference and Festival of Jewish Theatre. 4

Grants/ Awards/ Openings:

The Association for Jewish Studies. 5
Biblio Press. 5
The Dore Scharly Awards for Film and Video Productions. 5
The A. S. Diamond Memorial Prize. 5
John L. Haney Prize. 5
The Jerusalem Center. 5
Fellowships in Historical Editing. 5
Smithsonian Institution Student Appointments. 5
Student Internships in the Archive of Folk Song. 5
United Airlines Foundation Grants. 5
Woodrow Wilson Women's Studies Research Grants. 5
International Doctoral Research Fellowships. 5
Cotton Fellowship for Mediterranean Research. 5

Publications:

Books:

Sociology of the Kibbutz. ed. Ernest Krausz. 6
Rose, Peter I. *Mainstream and Margins: Jews, Blacks, and Other Americans*. 6
Ethnicity, Identity, and History: Essays in Memory of Werner J. Cahnman. ed. Joseph B. Maier and Chaim I. Maxman. 6
Patai, Raphael. *The Vanished Worlds of Jewry*. 6
Schulman, Fernande. *Mémoires juives: L'enfance ailleurs*. 6
Rorenberg, Mordechai. *Dialogue with Deviance: The Hasidic Ethic and the Theory of Social Contraction*. 6
Fuks, Marian et. al. *Polish Jewry: History and Culture*. 6
In Search of Self: The Soviet Jewish Intelligentsia and the Exodus. ed. David Prital. 6
Ertel, Rachel. *Le Shtetl: La bourgeoisie juive de Pologne*. 6
Olsover, L. *The Jewish Communities of North-East England 1755-1980*. 6
Krausz, Armin. *Sheffield Jewry Commentary on a Community*. 6
Goitein, S.D.F. *Jemenica: Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zenträ-Jemen, mit zahlreichen Sach- und Wörterlauterungen*. 6
Distant Relations: Ethnicity and Politics among Arabs and North African Jews in Israel. ed. Moshe Shokeid and Shlomo Deshen. 6

- Spiro, Melford E. *Gender and Culture: Kibbutz Women Revisited*. 7
- Oring, Elliott. *Israeli Humor: The Content and Structure of the Chizbat of the Palmah*. 7
- Heilman, Samuel C. *The People of the Book: Drama, Fellowship, and Religion*. 7
- Avruch, Kevin. *American Immigrants in Israel: Social Identities and Change*. 7
- Messing, Simon. *The Story of the Falashas: "Black Jews" of Ethiopia*. 7
- Gerber, Israel J. *The Heritage Seekers, Black Jews in Search of Identity*. 7
- Biblio Press 7**
- Newsletters and Magazines:
- The Jewish Ethnology Update. 8
 - MERA Forum. 8
 - Folklore and Social Struggle. 8
 - Hora: A Review of Israel Folk Dance News. 8
 - HaYotzer "The Creator": The Jewish American Artist. 8
 - The First Jewish Art Annual. 8
- Articles. 8**
- Media:**
- Film and Video:
- National Center for Jewish Film. 9
 - The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. 9
- Research Notes and Queries:**
- Carmel, Simon J. Jewish American Deaf Community. 10
 - Wolfe, Jerome A. The Meaning of different holidays to Christians and Jews. 10
 - Luminski, Jacek. Ashkenazi Folklore. 10
 - Kasman, Franklin G. Radin, Poland. 10
 - Brill, Michael A. *birkat levanah*. 10
 - Levenson, Edward R. Syllabi for courses on Jewish Women. 10
 - Lichtenstein, Diane. 19th century Jewish women writers. 10
 - Benedict, Dominique. Oral Histories of the Nazi Occupation of Tunisia. 10
- Resources:**
- World Union of Jewish Studies Mailing List. 10
 - American Jewish Historical Society - listings of local, state, and regional historical societies. 10
 - Yiddish Unlimited. translation Yiddish to English. 10
 - How to Promote Books of Jewish Interest. 10
- Performers:**
- Perman, Marsha D. 10
 - Jewish Arts Festival of Long Island. 10
- Institutions:**
- Max and Frieda Weinstein Archive of YIVO Sound Recordings. 10-11
 - The J.R. Elyachar Center for Studies in Sephardi Heritage. 11
- Media Recordings:**
- Chad Gadya*. 11
 - Flory Jagoda. 11
 - The Voice of the Turtle. *A Coat of Many Colors: Songs of the Sephardim*. 11
 - Klezmer Conservatory Band. *Yiddish Renaissance*. 11-12
 - The Jewish Music Research Center. 12
- Obituaries:**
- Lazar Weiner (1897-1982). Marsha Bryan Edelman. 11
 - Albert Weisser (1918-1982). 11
- Dissertation:**
- Fredman, Ruth. *Cosmopolitans at Home: The Sephardic Jews of Washington, D.C.* 12
- Volume 6, No. 1-4 (1983) JEWISH MUSEOLOGY**
- Kinshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Report on East European Collections." 1-3, 4
- Editorial. 3**
- Conferences and Meetings:**
- Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies. 5
 - West Coast Symposium on the Arts in Jewish Life. 5
 - Culture Shock: Soviet Jews in Philadelphia. 5
 - Living Tradition: Jewish Folk Creativity and Culture. 5-6
 - The Jewish Storytelling Festival Program. 6
 - A Sephardic Journey: The Jews of Syria in Brooklyn. 6
 - Conference on Jewish-American Folklife. 6
 - American Anthropological Association. 6-7
 - American Anthropological Association. 7
 - American Folklore Society. 7
- Publications:**
- Periodicals and Books:
- Sevillias, Errikos. Athens - Auschwitz. 7
 - Bazalel: 1906-1929. ed. Nurit Shilo-Cohen. 7-8
 - The Provisional International Directory of Public Jewish and Ethnographic Collections. compiled Dov Noy. 8
 - Traveling Exhibitions Perspectives on the Jewish Experience. 8
 - Adelman, Penina V. Miriam's Well: Rituals for Jewish Women Around the Year. 8
- Obituary:**
- Haim Schwarzbaum 1911-1983.
- Museums and Exhibits:**
- The Russian Jews of Brighton Beach. 8
 - From the Corners of the Earth. 8
 - Jews of Greece: Photographs by Morrie Camhi, Prose by Hal Fischer. 8
 - La Nacion: The Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the Caribbean Area. 8
 - The Miracle of Intervale Avenue. 8
 - Image and Reality: Jewish Life in Terezin. 8
 - Jewish Life in America: Fulfilling the American Jewish Dream. 8
 - Jewish Life in Northern California: Pacific Pioneers. 8
 - Jews in Egypt: Photographs by Micha Bar-Am. 8
 - Community Memories: The Syrian Jews of Brooklyn During World War II. 8

My Beloved is Mine: Marriage and Womanhood in the Jewish Tradition. [8-9](#)
 From Wardrobe to Worship: A Jewish Textile Tradition. [9](#)
 A Tale of Two Cities: Jewish Life in Frankfurt and Istanbul, [1750-1870](#). [9](#)
 The Pinch: Traditional Life in a Southern Jewish Community. [9](#)

Notes and Queries:

Samuel, Judith. German-Jewish Folk Art. [9](#)
 Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union. YIVO. [9](#)

Organizations:

International Survey of Jewish Monuments. [9](#)
 American Friends of the Jewish Museum of Greece. [9](#)
 Nosek, Bedrich. "The State Jewish Museum in Prague: Collections, Activities, and Perspectives." [10-11](#)
 Krinsky, Carol Herselle. "Jewish Monument Preservation in Europe." [11-12](#)
 Stavroulakis, Daniel Hannan. "The Jewish Museum of Greece." [12-13](#)
 Guberman, Jayne Kravetz. "A Folklorist's Catalogue of Catalogues." [14-16](#)

Volume 7, No. 1-4 (1985) AMERICAN JEWISH ETHNOGRAPHY

Greenwald, Alice M. "Ethnographic Approaches Within the Museum Setting." [1-3](#), [4](#)
 Editorial. [3](#)

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "American Jewish Life: Ethnographic Approaches to Collection, Presentation, and Interpretation in Museums." [4-12](#), [13](#)

Notes and Queries:

Jewish Papercutters. [12](#)
 Prell, Riv-Ellen. "In Memory of Barbara Myerhoff." [12-13](#), [14](#)
 Directory of Individual Researchers in American Jewish Ethnography. [14-27](#)
 Directory of Institutional Resources. [28-32](#)

Volume 8, No. 1-2 (1986) KLEZMER MUSIC, COURSE SYLLABI

Dion, Lynn. "Klezmer Music in America: Revival and Beyond." [2-8](#)

Editorial. [3](#)

Dion, Lynn. Klezmer Directory: Performers and Performing Groups." [8-14](#)

Teaching Jewish Folklore: Sample of Course Syllabi. [14](#)

Weissler, Chava. "Jewish Folklore: The Folklore and Folklife of Ashkenazic Jewry (Syllabus)." [15-16](#)

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. "Jewish Folklore and Ethnology: Towards an Intellectual History (Syllabus)." [16-23](#)

Research Reports:

Slobin, Mark. "A Study of the American Cantorate." [23-24](#)

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. "A Study of Syrian-Jewish Music in Brooklyn." [24-25](#)
 Zerubavel, Yael. "Oral History Study of the Syrian Jewish Community." [25-26](#)

Conferences:

American Anthropological Association. [26](#)
 Distinguished Lecturer Series. YIVO. [26](#)
 American Folklore Society. [27](#)
 Society for Ethnomusicology. [27](#)
 American Ethnological Society and Canadian Ethnological Society Joint Meeting. [27](#)
 History and Culture of Jewish Communities. [27](#)
 College Art Association of America Annual Meeting. [27](#)
 Twentieth International Congress on Medieval Studies. [27](#)
 The 1st International Colloquium on Jewish Humor. [27-28](#)
 The 2nd International Conference on Jewish Humor. [28](#)
 From Amulets to Zohar: Towards an Understanding of Superstition and the Jewish Religion. [28](#)
 Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis. [28](#)
 The 2nd International Congress for the Study of Sephardi and Oriental Jewry. [28](#)
 Association for Jewish Studies. [28-29](#)
 The Jewish Experience in America: A View from the West. [29](#)
 The National Foundation for Jewish Culture. [29](#)

Publications. [29-31](#)

Journals and Newsletters:

Dance Research Journal. [31](#)
 The Book Pedler: Newsletter of the National Yiddish Book Center. [31](#)
 Jewish Language Review. [31](#)
 Liturgical Chant Newsletter. [31](#)
 Mediterranean Language Review. [31](#)
 The Journal of Aging and Judaism. [31-32](#)

Archives:

YIVO. [32](#)
 World Jewish Data Bank. [32](#)
 A Clearinghouse of Jewish Studies. [32](#)

Museums and Exhibitions:

"Horray for Yiddish Theater in America." [32](#)
 "Ashkenaz: The German Jewish Heritage." [32](#)
 The American Friends of the Jewish Museum of Greece. [32](#)
 "The Spirit of Aleppo: Syrian Jewish Immigrant Life in New York, 1890-1939." [32](#)
 "Treasures of the Jewish Museum." [32](#)
 "Contemporary Jewish Folk Art in Chicago." [32](#)
 "Fantasy and Form in the Hanukkah Lamp." [32](#)
 "Jews of Kaifeng: Chinese Jews on the Banks of the Yellow River." [32](#)
 "The Beauty of Holiness, Ritual Art for the Jewish Home." [32](#)
 "The German Jew in America." [32](#)
 "Gan Hadorot, Garden of the Generations." [32](#)

"Colonial American History." 32
 "Jews of India." 32
 "The Israel Museum." 32
 "Jewish Life in America." 32-33
 "Jewish Papercuts by Shend Diamond." 33
 Scattered Lights, The Remnant of Israel in Rural Greece." 33

Media:

Film and Video Tape:

Murray Avenue, A Community in Transition. 33
 Hotel Cuba. 33
 Dancing into Marriage. 33
 Miracle at Intervale Avenue. 33
 On Common Ground: The Boston Jewish Experience
 1649-1980. 33
 Direct Cinema Limited. 33
 My Uncle Sam. 33

Recordings:

Yiddish Humor. 33
 Pizmon: Syrian-Jewish Religious and Social Song. 33
 "Small Miracles": Songs of the Sephardim, Volume 3. 33

Notes and Queries:

Jewish Dance. 33
 Belcove-Shalin, Janet S. Dialectics of Separation and
 Sanctification among Bobover Hasidim. 33
 "Golem." On-line Computer Bulletin Board. 33-34
 Jewish Ethnology Network. 34

Societies and Organizations:

The National Yiddish Book Center. 34
 The Jerusalem Anthropological Circle. 34
 The Tel Aviv Graduate Anthropology Students' Circle. 34
 Israel Anthropological Association. 34

Performances and Performers:

Gerineldo. 34
 "Our Lives are as a Tale that is Told: An Evening of
 Storytelling in Honor of the Anthropologist Barbara
 Myerhoff." 34
 "In the Jewish Tradition: A Directory of Performing
 Artists." 34

Obituary:

Shelomo Dov Goitein (1900-1985). A. L. Udovitch. 35-36

Volume 8, No. 3-4 (1986) JEWISH DANCE

Goren, Ayalah. "The Ethnic Dance in Israel, with Selected
 Filmography." 1-6

Editorial. 3

Alpert, Michael. "Freylekhs on Film: The Portrayal of Jewish
 Traditional Dance in Yiddish Cinema." 6-7, 35

Staub, Shalom and Chris Musello. "Network Analysis and the
 Ethnographic Study of Dance: American Israeli Folk
 Dancing." 8-13, 35

Directory of Jewish Dance Resources:

Researchers. 14-17

Collections. 17-18, 28

Choreographers. 28-31

Jews and Judaism in Dance: Reflections and Celebrations: An

International Conference and Festival Sponsored by the
 National Foundation for Jewish Culture:

Schedule. 19-22

Committees. 23.

Conference Participants:

Banes, Dr. Sally. 24
 Ben-Israel, Ron. 24
 Bertonoff, Deborah. 24
 Brainard, Dr. Ingrid. 24
 Cohen, Dr. Selma Jeanne. 24
 Cohen, Ze'eva. 24
 Fibich, Felix. 24
 Fibich, Judith Berg. 24
 Friedhaber, Zvi. 24
 Friedland, LeeEllen. 24
 Gellerman, Jill. 24
 Goodman, Ruth. 25
 Gordon, Dr. Mell. 25
 Goren, Ayalah. 25
 Hadassah. 25
 Harrison, Lanny. 25
 Hermon, Shalom. 25
 Horwitz, Dr. Dawn Lille. 25
 Ingber, Judith Brin. 25
 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Dr. Barbara. 25
 Lang, Pearl. 25
 Lapson, Dvora. 25-26
 Lerman, Liz. 26
 Luminski, Jacek. 26
 Manor, Giora. 26
 Maslow, Sophie. 26
 Mollov, Joyce. 26
 Monk, Meredith. 26
 Naharin, Ohad. 26
 Noy, Professor Dov. 26
 O'Connor, Patrick. 26
 Oswald, Genevieve. 26
 Oved, Margalit. 27
 Posnick, Michael. 27
 Rauch, Lillian Shapero. 27
 Rochlin, Miriam. 27
 Roskies, Dr. David. 27
 Sokolow, Anna. 27
 Staub, Dr. Shalom. 27
 Tanai, Sara Levi. 27
 Uziel, Danny. 27
 Warren, Larry. 27
 Zerbavatel, Dr. Yael. 27

Staub, Shalom. "Jewish Dance: Current Bibliography." 31-32, 37-39

Archives:

The Archives of Conservative Judaism. 33

Conferences:

1986 Yiddish Youth Conference. 33

The Organization of American Historians. 33

A Colloquium, Jews Among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries. 33

American Yiddish Literature: Immigrant Voices in the New World (58th Annual Conference). 33

Jewish Popular Culture: Media and Messages: A Five Part Symposium. 33-34

Twentieth International Congress on Medieval Studies. 34

The Communal Fabric of American Jewry: 5th Annual Scholar Seminar Series. 34

Shlomo M. Hochberg Lecture. 34

Courses:

Yiddish Studies Seminar. 34

Minhag America: Historical and Ethnographic Models for the Study of American Jewry. 34

Ethnography and Folklore of Israeli society. 34.

Media:

Film and Videotape:

Alden Films. 34

About the Jews of Yemen, A Vanishing Culture. 34

Falashas No More. 34

A Berlin Lost. 34

The Challenge of Aging: Jewish Ethnicity in Later Life. 35

The Miracle at Intervale. 35

Museums and Exhibitions:

"The Jewish Dancing Master in Theatrical Society: Guglielmo, Isaac, Saint-Leon." 36

National Museum of American Jewish History. 36

The Jewish Museum. 36

"The Jewish Heritage in the Eye of the Camera." 36

American Friends of the Jewish Museum of Greece. 36

"From the Corners of the Earth." 36

Yeshiva University Museum. 36

"Between the Wars: The Bronx Express, A Portrait of the Jewish Bronx." 37

"Arthur Leipzig: Photographs of Jewish Life Around the World Including a Recent Series on Ethiopian Jews in Israel." 37

Publications. 37-39

Journals and Newsletters:

The Bilingual Family Newsletter. 39

Notes and Queries:

Jewish Cookbook Query. 39

Scheinok, Perry. Oral Histories Related to Jewish Families who Escaped From Under Nazi Domination/Occupation during the years 1933-45 who were fortunate not to have spent any time in concentration camps. 39

Performers and Performances:

Ziporah Sibahi Greenfield. 40

"The Golden Peacock." 4

The Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Newsletter
becomes
The Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review

Volume 9, No. 1 (1987) JEWISH FOODWAYS

Bahloul, Joelle. "Foodways in Contemporary Jewish Communities: Research Directions." 1-5, 39

From the Guest Editor. 3.

Herzog, Mikhl. "The Culinary Treasures of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry." 6-7, 12

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Recipes for Creating Community: The Jewish Charity Cookbook in America." 8-12

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Jewish Charity Cookbooks in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography of 201 Recent Publications." 13-18

Resources for the Study of Jewish Foodways:

Newsletters. 19

Book Dealers. 19

Journals. 19

Associations. 19

Research Reports:

Angel, Gilda. "Jewish Cookbook Projects." 20

"Jewish Food Terminology and Traditions: From Bola and Pastrami to Delkelekh and Felaful." 20

Bacon, Josephine. "Jewish Cookbooks: Compiling A Bibliography." 20-21

Berger, Dr. Shulamit Z. "Madison Avenue Comes to East Broadway: Advertising and the Jewish Immigrant Meet, 1910-1930. 21-22

Bunis, Dr. David M. "The Culinary Terminology and Traditions of the Judezmo-Speaking Sephardim in the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: A Historical Study Based on Rabbinical Sources." 22-23

Cohen-Sarano, Matilda. "Gastronomic Glossary of the Judeo-Spanish Tradition." 23

Corley, Sophia S. "Food Habits of Jewish People of Indian Origin." 23-24

Dahbany-Miraglia, Dr. Dina. "Yemenite Jewish Cuisine." 24

Epstein, Dr. Shifra. "Celebrated Repasts: Jewish Food, East and West." 25

Fredman, Dr. Ruth Gruber. "The Passover Seder: Jewish Food as a Symbolic System." 25-26

Graves, Dr. Thomas E. "Die Yedekasche." 26

Hirsch, Dr. Elisabeth Schiff. "Jenny's Cookbook." 26-27

Hochschild, Tanya. "The Bagel." 27

Isaacs, Susan. "Jewish Food, Restaurants, and Material Culture." 27

Joselit, Dr. Jenna Weissman. "Kashrut and the Modern Orthodox Jewish Woman in New York, 1880-1950." [27-28](#)

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "A Social History of Jewish Cookbooks, 1815-1987." [28-29](#)

Kugelmass, Dr. Jack. "Jewish Restaurants on the Lower East Side." [29](#)

Landmann, Dr. Salcia. "Jewish Food: History and Cuisine." [29](#)

Lipson-Walker, Dr. Carolyn. "Southern Jewish Foodways." [29-30](#)

Messer, Dr. Ellen. "Jewish Foodways: Hebraicism to Health." [30](#)

Nash, Dr. Manning. "Jewish Dietary Systems as Boundary Mechanism: A Study in the Comparative Dynamics of Ethnicity." [30-31](#)

Nemeroff, Dr. Carol and Dr. Paul Rozin. "Sympathetic Magic in Kosher Practice and Belief at the Limits of the Laws of *Kashrut*." [31-32](#)

Peiser, Judy. "Jewish Foodways Research and Programing at the Center for Southern Folklore." [32](#)

Pincus, Helen Weiss. "Cookbook Project."

Prosterman, Dr. Leslie. "The Kosher Caterer." [32-33](#)

Sachs, Dr. Maurie. "Mishloah Manot: The Real Impact of Women's Symbolic Power." [33-34](#)

Sarna, Dr. Jonathan D. "Passover Raisin Wine, the American Temperance Movement, and Mordecai Noah: The Origins, Meaning, and Wider Significance of a Nineteenth-Century American Jewish Religious Practice." [34](#)

Schachter, Dr. Mordkhe. "Yiddish Food Terminology." [35](#)

Shuman, Dr. Amy. "Shalakhmones in Brooklyn." [35](#)

Sinai, Joshua. "A Short History of the *Kneydl*." [35](#)

Sinkoff, Nancy. "'Proper Jewish Womanhood': A Case Study in Domesticity and Vocational Training, 1897-1926." [35-36](#)

Stavroulakis, Dr. Nicholas. "Cuisine of the Sabbatean Jews of Salonika." [36](#)

Toomre, Dr. Joyce. "A Note On 'Fish in the Jewish Style' in Nineteenth Century Russia." [36-37](#)

Wasserman, Suzanne. "Restaurant Culture and Pushcart Markets on the Lower East Side During the Depression Years: A Changing Urban Landscape." [37](#)

Zerubavel, Dr. Yael. "A Taste of Tradition' The Study of Middle Eastern Jewish Food in Brooklyn." [37-39](#)

Volume 9, No. 2 (1987) MATERIAL CULTURE/ JEWISH FOLKLORE /COURSE SYLLABUS

Epstein, Shifra. "Textiles of Union: On Festive Roundels Made and Used by the Jews of Irani Kurdistan." [1-5](#)

From the Editors. [3](#)

Staub, Shalom. "Folklore and Ethnography of Jewish Experience (Syllabus)." [6-7](#)

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett. "Review: 'A Treasury of Sephardic Laws and Customs.' (Dobrinisky). [8](#)

Obituary:
Gurit Kadman (1897-1987). Judith Brin Ingber. [9-10](#)

Awards and Prizes:

The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. [10](#)
Academic Awards for Creative Thought. [10](#)

Books Received. [10](#)

Computers and Software:

Jewish "Special Interest Group" (SIG) on Compuserve. Ohr Somayach. [10](#)

Conferences:

American Folklore Society. [10-11](#)
Society of Ethnomusicology. [11](#)
Middle Eastern Studies Association. [11](#)
American Anthropological Association. [11](#)
The Jews in the Ottoman Empire. [12](#)
The Second International Conference on Turkic Studies. [12](#)
The Jews of Syria: A Symposium. [12](#)
The Jews of Yemen: A Symposium. [12](#)
American Jewish Historical Society, National Conference. [12](#)
Israel: Prospects for Peace. Association for Israel Studies, Second Annual Conference. [12](#)
Jews Among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries. [12](#)
Our Yiddish Cultural Roots: Conference for Children of Holocaust Survivors. [12](#)
Popular Music in the Middle East, South Asia, And Southeast Asia. [12](#)
Traditions in Ashkenaz: Authenticity and Nostalgia in the Interpretation of Jewish Culture. The 59th Annual YIVO Conference. [12-13](#)
Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter Society for Ethnomusicology. [13](#)
Jews and Pennsylvania Germans: Neighbors in Early Pennsylvania. Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society. [13](#)
Art and Identity in the American Jewish Community. [13](#)
Conference on Sephardic Studies. [13-14](#)
The Jewish Theological Seminary's Centennial Public Programs. [14](#)
Jewish Folk Culture of the Lower East Side: A Celebration of the Visual and Performing Arts. [14](#)
Diasporas in Comparative Perspectives. [14](#)
The Third International Scholars' Conference in Jewish Studies. [14-15](#)
Varied Voices: A Conference on Jewish Music. [15-16](#)

Courses:

YIVO. [16](#)
Oxford Summer Programme in Yiddish. [16](#)
The Hebrew Arts School of Abraham Goodman House. [16](#)

Journals and Newsletters:

Hona. [16](#)
Kabbalah: A Newsletter of Current Research in Jewish

Mysticism. [16](#)

National Jewish Arts Newsletter. [16](#)

Papercutting World. [16](#)

Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies. [16](#)

Rushi. [16](#)

RES. [16](#)

Yiddish Folk Arts Newsletter. [16](#)

KlezNews. [16](#)

The Jewish Storytelling Newsletter. [16-17](#)

Search. [17](#)

Jewish Music Notes. [17](#)

Jewish Women's resource Center Newsletter. [17](#)

Journal of Ritual Studies. [17](#)

The World of Music. [17](#)

Media:

Recordings:

Global Village Music. [17](#)

Mostly Klezmer: Ellis Island Old World Folk Band. [17](#)

"The Golden Land." [17](#)

Nisht Geferlach Klezmer Band. [17](#)

Joaquin Diaz: Sephardic Ballads and Love Songs. [17](#)

"Shoa V'Hagvura" [17](#)

Free catalog. [17](#)

Joaquin Diaz: Sephardic Ballads and Love Songs. [17](#)

Pomerantz, Lauren: Jewels of the Sephardim. [18](#)

Film and Videotape:

"The Partisans of Vilna." [18](#)

"A Life of Song: A Portrait of Ruth Rubin, Yiddish
Folksinger and Folklorist." [18](#)

"This New Sukkah." [18](#)

"The Jewish Funeral." [18](#)

"We Were So Beloved." [18](#)

"Return Trips." [18](#)

"A Contemporary Lens on Jewish Experience." [18](#)

Museums and Exhibitions:

The Jewish Museum. [18](#)

A Taste of Tradition: A Sephardic Food Festival. [18](#)

Judah L. Magnes Museum. [18-19](#)

"Ashkenaz: The German Jewish Heritage." [19](#)

The National Museum of American Jewish History. [19](#)

The Jewish Historical Museum. [19](#)

"Jewish Folk Culture of the Lower East Side: A Celebration of
the Visual and Performance Arts." [19](#)

Barouch, Alicia. "An Exhibit of Judeo-Spanish Ritual and Folk
Healing." [19](#)

Notes and Queries:

SUNY Series in Israeli Studies. [19](#)

Schacter, Elana and Randy Robinson. A book for and about
women. [20](#)

The Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review. [20](#)

Performers and Performances:

Lawrence, Esther. [20](#)

Voice of the Turtle. [20](#)

Pizmon. [20](#)

"A Celebration of Jewish Folklife." [20](#)

Publications. [21-25](#)

Societies and Organizations:

The Citizen's Committee for the Protection of Jewish

Cemeteries and Cultural Monuments in Poland of the

Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments. [25](#)

The Fund for the Translation of Jewish Literature. [25-26](#)

The Goldmark Foundation. [26](#)

The Gildin Yiddish Student Book Fund. [26](#)

Institute for Sephardic Studies at the CUNY Graduate

Center. [26](#)

The Israel Anthropological Association. [26](#)

The Association for Israel Studies. [26](#)

Jewish Women's Resource Center of the National Council of
Jewish Women. [26](#)

The Jewish Storytelling Center. [26](#)

The Immigration History Society. [26-27](#)

Theses and Dissertations. [27](#)

Volume 10, No. 1 (1988) JEWISH PHOTOETHNOGRAPHY

From the Guest Editor. [2](#)

Weintraub, Aviva. "The Photoethnography of Jewish
Communities: Related Books, Articles and Museum
Catalogues." [3-10](#)

Nagger, Carole. "Patrick Zachmann: Identity Inquiry." [11-15](#)

Ginsburg, Faye. "The Parallax Effect: Jewish Ethnographic Film." [16-17](#)

Shandler, Jeffrey. "People of a Thousand Towns: YIVO's
Videodisk Project." [18](#)

Bloom, Margo. "The Jewish Museum's National Jewish Archive of
Broadcasting: Developing a Collections Policy." [19-20, 27](#)

Epstein, Shifra. "Photographing a Contemporary Hasidic
Pilgrimage to Poland." [21-22](#)

Glassman, Carl. "The Russian Jews of Brighton Beach." [23-27](#)

Kotler, Igor. "Jewish Life in Oni (early 1980s)". [28](#)

Ronay, Judy Rose. "Portraits of Children of Jewish Survivors of
the Nazi Holocaust." [29-31](#)

Salzmann, Laurence. A Note from the Field. [32](#)

Friedman, Keren Tzionah. "Photoethnography and the Jews of
Djerba." [33](#)

Directory of Jewish Photoethnographers:

Appel, John. [34](#)

Arenman, Scott. [34](#)

Aron, Bill. [34](#)

Bacher, Doron. [34](#)

Bahloul, Joelle. [35](#)

Barryte, Marcia Aron. [35](#)

Brenner, Fredric. [35](#)

- Cohen, Judith R. [35](#)
 Cohen, Marla. [35](#)
 Delin, Dolores. [35](#)
 Epstein, Shifra. [35](#)
 Fishman, Bernard. [35](#)
 Freid, Joel C. [35](#)
 Friedman, Keren Tzionah. [35](#)
 Fromm, Annette B. [36](#)
 Gellerman, Jill. [36](#)
 Halpern, Joel. [36](#)
 Helfand, Judith. [36](#)
 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. [36](#)
 Kotler, Igor. [36](#)
 Krajewska, Monika. [37](#)
 Kugelmass, Jack. [37](#)
 Lewis, Herbert. [37](#)
 Loeb, Deenah. [37](#)
 Messing, Simon D. [38](#)
 Peiser, Judy. [38](#)
 Plaut, Joshua Eli. [38](#)
 Porter, Jack Nusan. [38](#)
 Ratkin, Annette Levy. [38](#)
 Ronay, Judy. [38](#)
 Ruedenberg, Lucia. [38](#)
 Salzmann, Laurence. [38-39](#)
 Serotta, Edward. [39](#)
 Sherman, Sharon R. [39](#)
 Siporin, Steven. [39](#)
 Spector, Johanna. [39](#)
 Staub, Shalom. [39](#)
 Thomas, Katrina. [39](#)
 Weintraub, Aviva. [39](#)
 Weiss, Sam. [40](#)
 Wells, David. [40](#)
 Wesley, Jenny E. [40](#)
- Notes and Queries:
 JFER call for articles. [40](#)
 Goldman Eric. "Selected Jewish Ethnographic Film/
 Videography." [41-42](#)
- Portfolios:
 Bacher, Doron. "The Beth Israel in Israel and
 Ethiopia." [43](#)
 Freid, Joel Carl. "Jews in Contemporary Romania."
[44-45](#)
 Kugelmass, Jack. "Purim in Williamsburg." [46-47](#)
- Volume [10](#), No. [2](#) (1988) JEWISH MATERIAL CULTURE
 From the Guest Editor.
 Epstein, Shifra. "The Study of Material Culture in Israel." [1-2](#), [33](#)
 Shuman, Amy. "Proposal for a Traveling Exhibition: 'What is
 Jewish Folk Art?'" [3-4](#)
 Stillman, Yedida K. "Jewish Costume and Textile Studies: The
 State of the Art." [5-9](#)
- Liebowitz, Harold. "Rabbinic Attitudes Towards Art and
 Decoration." [10-11](#)
 Gutmann, Joseph. "Jewish Legends in Art." [12](#)
 Guberman, Jayne Kravetz. "Jewish Women Artists in Transition."
[13-14](#)
 Greenfield, Zippora Sibahi. "The Reconstruction of a Jewish
 Wedding Dress from Maswar, Yemen." [15](#)
 Epstein, Shifra and Harold Liebowitz. "Sukkah Decoration in
 Texas and Northern Mexico." [16-17](#)
 Teichman, Carmela. "Towards a Directory of Museums and
 Institutions Worldwide and their Exhibitions and Catalogues
 Devoted to Jewish Culture." [17-22](#)
 van Voolen, Edward. "The Jewish Historical Museum of
 Amsterdam." [22-23](#)
 Gonen, Rivka. "Ethnographic Work at the Israel Museum,
 Jerusalem." [23-24](#)
 Goldman-Ida, Batsheva. "The Museum of the Babylonian Jewry
 Heritage Center." [25](#)
- Exhibition Review:
 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "The Jews of Asia, Hall of
 Asian Peoples, American Museum of Natural History."
[25-27](#)
- Book Reviews:
 Dietz, Shoshana. "Review" *Stone Witnesses to Jewish Life in
 Bavaria: Documentation* (Schwartz) [28](#)
 Goldenberg, Myrna. "Review: *Auschwitz: True Tales from a
 Grotesque Land* (Hirsch)" [29](#)
- Books Received. [29](#)
- Conferences:
 American Folklore Society. Albuquerque. [29-30](#)
 American Folklore Society. Cambridge. [30](#)
 American Anthropological Association. Chicago. [30](#)
 American Anthropological Association. Phoenix. [30](#)
 Society for Ethnomusicology. [30-31](#)
 Congress on Research in Dance Annual Conference: Progress
 and Possibilities. [31](#)
 UCLA Dance Ethnology Forum. [31](#)
 Congress on Research in Dance First International
 Conference: Dance and Culture. [31](#)
 California Folklore Society and The Association for the Study
 of Play Joint Meeting. [31](#)
 Jewish Culture in the South: Past, Present and Future. [31](#)
 Kinship, Mobility and Community Among Contemporary
 American Jews. [31](#)
 Third International Conference of Research in Yiddish
 Language and Literature. [31](#)
- Courses:
 Congregation Shearith Israel and Sephardic House. [31](#)
 The Institute for Jewish Art. [31](#)
- Journals and Newsletters:
Mosaic, Jewish Life in Florida. [31](#)

Legacy. 31
Local Jewish Historical Society News. 31-32
The Pomegranate Guild of Judaic Needlework.
 Media:
 Film and Videotape:
 Ergo Media's Video Catalog. 32
A Jumpin' Night in the Garden of Eden.
 Recordings:
 Global Village Music. 32
 Chansons Yiddish: Tendresses et rage. 32
 Museums and Exhibitions:
 In der Nacht, Visions of Deaf Survivors of Nazi
 Oppression. 32
 And So They Came, The Jewish Experience of Settlement in
 Maryland 1656-1929. 32
 Struggle and Pride: Images of the Moroccan Jewish
 Community. 32
 Defenders of the Faith. 32
 Memphis Jewish Community 1840-Present. 32
 Performers and Performances:
 The Oral Tradition, Jewish Stories for Adults. 32
 Ingber, Judith Brin. 32
 Shashmaqam: Bukharan Jewish Music and Dance. 33
 Treasures of Fairfax, A Salute to Jewish Cultural Traditions. 33
 Directory of Judaic Art Resources, Greater Washington D.C.-
 Baltimore Areas, 1986-1987. 33
 Societies and Organizations:
 The Jewish Folk Arts Society. 33
 The Sephardic House at Shearith Israel. 33
 The 1989 Council of American Jewish Museums Directory. 33
 The Plotkin Judaica Museum. 33
 Notes and Queries:
JFER call for articles. 33

Volume 11, No. 1-2 (1989) FOLKLORE AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF ISRAELI SOCIETY

From the Special Issue Editor. 1
 Hasan-Rokem, Galit and Eli Yassif. "The Study of Jewish Folklore
 in Israel." 2-11
 Katriel, Tamar. "Israeli Speechways: An Overview of Discourse-
 Oriented Studies." 12-18
 Haskell, Guy H. "The Development of Israeli Anthropological
 Approaches to Immigration and Ethnicity: 1948-1980." 19-26
 Deshen, Shlomo and Moshe Shokeid. "Recent Trends in the
 Study of North African Jews in Israel." 26-27
 Weil, Shalva. "Ethiopian Jews in Israel: A Survey of Research and
 Documentation." 28-32
 Druyan, Nitza. "Yemenite Jews in Israel: Studies of a Community
 in Transition." 32-35
 Sabar, Yona. "Studies of the Folklore, Ethnography and Literature
 of Kurdistan Jews: An Annotated Bibliography." 35-38

Shohat, Ella. "From Didactic Texts to Allegorical Readings: Israeli
 Culture and Film Narrative." 38-41
 Shiloah, Amnon. "Ethnomusicological Research in Israel." 42
 Leviatan, Uriel. "Institute for Study and Research of the Kibbutz
 and the Cooperative Idea." 43-44
 Shenhar-Alroy, Aliza. "The Division of Folklore Studies.
 University of Haifa." 45
 Yassif, Eli. "Folklore Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the
 Negev, Beer Sheva." 46
 "Project for Kibbutz Studies." Harvard University. 46
 Directory of Researchers, Institutions, and Journals:
 Researchers:
 Abramovitch, Henry. 47
 Alexander, Tamar. 47-48
 Arie, Nili. 48
 Aron, Bill. 48
 Aronoff, Myron (Mike). 48
 Ashkenazi, Michael. 48-49
 Avenary, Hanoch. 49
 Bahat, Avner. 49
 Bahat-Rotzon, Noemi. 49
 Bar-Irzhak, Haya. 49-50
 Beit-Hallahmi, Benjamin. 50
 Ben-Amos, Dan. 50
 Ben-Dor, Shoshana. 50
 Ben-Eliezer, Uri. 50
 Birnbaum-Carmeli, Daphna. 51
 Bratulescu, Monica. 51
 Charnow, Sally. 51
 Chetrit, Yosef. 51
 Dan, Joseph. 51
 Danet, Brenda. 51
 Deshen, Shlomo. 51-52
 Dryuan, Nitza. 52
 Elazar, Daniel J. 52
 Epstein, Shifra. 52-53
 Friedhaber, Zvi. 53
 Gerson-Kiwi, Edith. 53
 Gilad, Lisa. 53
 Goldberg, Harvey. 53-54
 Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, Olga. 54
 Greenfield, Zipporah Sibahi. 54
 Handelsman, Don. 54
 Hasan-Rokem, Galit. 54-55
 Haskell, Guy H. 55
 Heilman, Samuel C. 55
 Herzog, Hanna. 55
 Horowitz, Amy. 55
 Ingber, Judith Brin. 56
 Isenberg, Shirley Berry. 56
 Kagan, Zipora. 56
 Katriel, Tamar. 56

Klein-Franke, Aviva. 56-57

Kressel, Gideon M. 57

Lehman-Wilzig, Sam. 57

Lewis, Herbert S. 57

Liebes, Tamar. 57

Liebman, Charles S. 57-58

Malachi, Zvi. 58

Manor, Giora. 58

Matras, Hagit. 58

Mazor, Ya'akov. 58

Meir, Ophra. 59

Morch, Shmuel. 59

Muller-Lancet, Aviva. 59

Noy, Dov. 59-60

Or-Chen, Malka. 60

Oring, Elliott. 60

Ozeri, Zion. 60

Paine, Robert. 60

Plaut, Joshua E. 60

Regev, Mordechai (Morri). 60

Reinharz, Shulamit. 60

Rubin, Nissan. 60-61

Salzmann, Laurence. 61

Saraf, Michal. 61

Seroussi, Edwin. 61

Shadur, Yehudit. 61

Shamgar-Handelman, Lea. 61

Sharvit, Uri. 61-62

Shenhar-Alroy, Aliza. 62

Shiloah, Amnon. 62

Shohat, Ella. 62-63

Shokeid, Moshe. 63

Siporin, Steve. 63-64

Spector, Johanna L. 64

Staub, Shalom. 64

Strillman, Yedida K. 64

Tobin, Yishai. 64-65

Wallerstein-Sibony, Marcia. 65

Wasserfall, Rachel. 65

Weich-Shahak, Susana. 65

Weil, Shalva. 65-66

Weingrod, Alex. 66

Weintraub, Aviva. 66

Weitman, Sasha. 66

Yaniv, Bracha. 66

Yassif, Eli. 67

Yehoshua, Bezion David. 67

Zenner, Walter P. 67

Zerubavel, Yael. 67

Institutions:

The Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center and Museum. 68

Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East. 68

Beth Harefotsoth: The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the

Jewish Diaspora. 68

Dance Library of Israel. 68

Ethnography and Folklore Pavilion, Eretz Israel Museum. 68-69

Folklore Research Center. 69

The Habermann Institute for Literary Research. 69

Haifa Museum of Music and Ethnology. 69

Israel Anthropological Association. 69

Israel Folktale Archives (IFA). 69

Israel Museum, Department of Jewish Ethnography. 69

The Jerusalem Center for Anthropological Studies. 69-70

Jewish Music Research Centre. 70

Jewish Song Archives. 70

Misgav Yerushalayim: Institute for Research on the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage. 70-71

National Sound Archives. 71

Yeda'Am. 71

Journals Directory:

Folklore Research Center Studies. 72

Israel Dance Annual. 72

Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore. 72

Jewish Art. 72

Megamot. 72

PE'AMIM, Studies in the Cultural Heritage of Oriental Jewry. 72

SEFUNOT, Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East. 72

YEDA'AM, Journal of the Israel Folklore Society. 72

YUVAL, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center. 72

Volume 12, No. 1-2 (1990) JEWISH WOMEN

From the Special Issue Editor. 1

Kaufman, Debra. "Experiencing Hasidism: Newly Orthodox Women's Perspectives on Sexuality and Domesticity." 2-4

Ucko, Lenora Greenbaum. "Who are the Wives? Who are the Husbands? A Study of Marriage Roles in Jewish Classical Folktales." 5-10

Newman, Esther. "Role Transformation in a Tunisian Women's Tale." 11-13

Sered, Susan Starr. "Halakha, Modesty and Women: From a Female Perspective." 14-16

Charnow, Sally. "Seasons of the Soul: Context and Meaning in An Orthodox Girls High School." 17-20

Alexander, Tamar. "The Woman Demon in Jewish Customs and Folktales." 21

Ashton, Dianne. "Grace Aguilar's Popular Theology and the Female Response to Evangelists." 22

Bahloul, Joelle. "Female Emancipation and Marriage Strategies: North African Jewish Women in France." 23

Baskin, Judith R. "Discovering Jewish Women's History." 24-25

Berger, Shulamith Z. "Tkhines and the Kindling of Sabbath Candles through the Ages." 25

Cohen, Judith R. "Judeo-Spanish Songs in Montreal and Toronto."

Davis, Judith. "Learning About Women Through a Study of Bar Mitzvah: Some Thoughts about Feminist Fieldwork." 27-28

Hirshan, Marjorie Schonhaut. "The Jewish Women's Resource Center: Bringing Women Closer to Judaism and Judaism Closer to Women." 28

Kliger, Hannah and Barbara Schriber. "Towards a Study of Jewish Immigrant Women in Boston, 1880-1920: Clothing, Culture and Communication." 28-29

Lande, Marilyn. "Jewish Women and the Visual Arts." 29-30

Nadell, Pamela S. "Women as Rabbis and Religious Leaders." 30

Ochs, Vanessa L. "Learned Women in Jerusalem." 30-31

Saltzman, Cynthia. "Jewish Women Coming of Age: The Adult Bat Mitzvah." 31-32

Schuchat, Molly G. "Brother and Sister Together." 32-33

Slobin, Mark. "Women Cantors." 33

Tallan, Cheryl. "Medieval Jewish Widows." 34

Tsoffar, Ruth. "The Karaite Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area." 35

Umansky, Ellen M. "Exploring Modern Jewish Women's Spirituality." 35-36

Wasserfall, Rahel. "Gender Identification Among Israeli Women." 36-37

Weissler, Chava. "Yiddish Prayers for Women: Reflections on Research in Progress." 37-38

Syllabi:

Nadell, Dr. Pamela. "Topics in Jewish Culture: Women and Sex in Jewish Tradition (Syllabus)." 39-40

Prell, Riv-Ellen. "Jewish Women in America (Syllabus)." 40-41

Kessner, Carole. "Women in Judaism and Jewish Life from the Biblical Period to the Present (Syllabus)." 41-42

Bahloul, Joelle. "Jewish Women: Anthropological Perspectives (Syllabus)." 42

Resources:

Work in progress: directory of scholars working on Jewish women. 43

Women's Institute for Continuing Jewish Education. 43

Museum Exhibits and Catalogues:

Sing to the Eternal One a New Song: Changing Tradition: The Role of Women in Judaism. 43

Getting Comfortable in New York: the American Jewish Home (1888-1950). 43

Reviews:

Joselit, Jenna Weissman. "Review: *The World of Our Mothers: The Lives of Immigrant Jewish Women* (Weinberg)." 44

Lande, Marilyn. "Review: *Eve's Journey: Images in Hebraic Literary Tradition* (Aschkenasy)." 44

Newman, Esther. "Review: *Jewish Stories One Generation Tells Another* (Schram); *Elijah's Violin and Other Jewish*

Fairy Tales (Schwartz); *Lilith's Cave: Jewish Tales of the Supernatural* (Schwartz); *Miriam's Tambourine: Jewish Folktales from Around the World* (Schwartz)." 45-46

Gottesman, Itzik Nakhmen. "Review: *Our Parents' Lives: The Americanization of Eastern European Jews* (Cowan and Cowan)." 46-47

Gottesman, Itzik Nakhmen. "Review: *Yiddish Folktales* (Weinreich)." 47

Haskell, Guy H. "Review: *Judaism Viewed from Within and from Without*. (Goldberg)." 47-48

VOL. 13, NO. 1, 1991 JEWISH-GENTILE RELATIONS

From the Editor. 1

Zenner, Walter P. "The Folklore of Jewish-Gentile Relations." 2-4

Huseby-Darvas, Eva V. "Remembering our Jews: The Complexity of Village Relations in North Hungary." 5-7

Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "Relationships between Jews and Gentiles in Folk Narratives as Told by Polish Jews." 8-10

Goldberg, Harvey E. "Jews and Non-Jews in North Africa: A Bibliography." 10-12

Berger, Shulamith Z. "Merry Hanukkah: Santa Claus and Captain Hanukkah Team Up: Greeting Cards and Jewish-Gentile Relations in the 1980s." 13-16

Laderman, Carole. "A Jewish Family in Muslim Malaysia." 17-19

Singer, Mirella and Sara Santiago. "Doing Fieldwork in Mesoamerica: Maya Indians' Images of Jews." 19-22

London, Gloria. "The Chosen People and Never on Sunday." 22-23

Carmel, Simon J. "Bibliography and Resources on Deaf Jews and the Jewish Deaf Community." 24

Reviews:

Batbay, William M. "Review: *The Other Jews: The Sephardim Today* (Elazar)." 25

Batbay, William M. "Review: *And the World Stood Silent: Sephardic Poetry of the Holocaust* (Levy)." 25-26

Ward, Seth. "Review: *The Land Where Two Streams Flow: Music in the German Jewish Community in Israel* (Bohman)." 26-27

Ward, Seth. "Review: *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Sourcebook* (Isenberg)." 27-28

Books Received. 28

Conferences:

Second International Cross-Disciplinary Conference on Sephardic Studies. 28

First International Congress for Research on Yemenite Jewry. 28

Sephardic Jewry in the Ottoman Empire and its Emergent States. 28

American Academy of Religion. 28

A Century of Field Recording, An International Symposium. 28

Jewish Politics and Political Culture in Eastern Europe. 28

Society for Ethnomusicology. 28

American Folklore Society. [28-29](#)
 American Anthropological Association. Washington. [29](#)
 American Anthropological Association. New Orleans. [29](#)
 Journals and Newsletters:
Yugnturf. [29](#)
The Jewish Storytelling Newsletter. [29](#)
European Judaism. [29](#)
Kol Bina. [29](#)
India Worldwide Magazine. [29](#)
 Media:
 Film and Videotape:
 Palisades Institute for Research Services Inc. [29-30](#)
 Recordings:
 Global Village Music. [30](#)
 Ruth Rubin. [30](#)
 Museums and Exhibitions:
 The American Jewish Experience. [30](#)
 Going Home: How American Jews Invent the Old World. [30](#)
 Project Americana. [30](#)
 Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy. [30](#)
 In the Court of the Sultan: Sephardi Jews of the Ottoman
 Empire and War, Resistance and Politics: Dusseldorf Artists
 1910-1945.
 A Day in the Warsaw Ghetto. [30](#)
 Getting Comfortable in New York: The American Jewish
 Home. [1880-1950](#). [30](#)
 The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. [30](#)
 Anyos Muchos y Buenos. [30](#)
 The Yiddische Gauchos. [30](#)
 The Jews of Yugoslavia. [30](#)
 Traditions in Transition: Jewish Culture in Philadelphia 1840-
 1940. [30-31](#)
 Notes and Queries:
 Announcement of upcoming *JFER* issue. [31](#)
 Bronitsky, Gordon. Multi-cultural consultant in the
 Southwest. [31](#)
 Reproduction postcards of Jewish life in Poland. [31](#)
 Performers and Events:
 Music and Dance of Spain's Jews and Gypsies. [31](#)
 Traditions in Transition: Jewish Culture in Philadelphia 1840-
 1940. [31](#)
 Alsace Family Festival. [31](#)
 Judy Frankel. [31](#)
 Recent Publications. [31-32](#)

Volume 13, No. 2 (1991) JEWS OF THE HEARTLAND

From the Editor, 1

Glazier, Jack. "Immigrant Jews in the Midwest: Notes on the
 Industrial Removal Office, Traveling Agents, and Local
 Committees." [2](#)

Wilde, Anna. "Black-Jewish Relations during the Civil Rights
 Movement: Beloit, Wisconsin, 1954-1965." [2](#)

Griff, Hanna. "Toldot Iowa Diary." [13](#)

Fromm, Annette B. "Jewish-Gentile Relations: The Fenster
 Museum of Jewish Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma." [20](#)

Book Reviews:

Batkay, William M. *Anglish/Yinglish: Yiddish in American Life
 and Literature* (Gene Bluestein). [22](#)

Rothenberg, Marian S. *The Story of Scripture: From Oral
 Tradition to the Written Word* (Daniel Jeremy Silver). [22](#)

Rubin, Joel. "...denn die Fiedel macht das Fest." *Judische
 Musikanten und Tanzer vom 13. bis 20. Jahrhundert* (Walter
 Salmen). [22](#)

Ucko, Leonora G. *Mimekor Yisrael: Jewish Classical Folktales*
 (Emanuel Bin Gorion). [24](#)

Abramovic, Dina. *Jewish Folklore: An Annotated Bibliography*
 (Eli Yassif). [25](#)

Report of the Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section, Conference
 Reports, Book Received, Courses, Museums and Exhibitions,
 Notes and Queries, Performers and Performances, Recent
 Publications, [26](#)

Volume 14, No. 1-2 (1992) JEWISH FOLK LITERATURE

From the Editor, 1

Introduction, Haya Bar-Itzhak. [2](#)

Ben-Amos, Dan. *Jewish Folktales: An Encyclopedic Survey*

Ben-Amos, Dan. *Introduction*. [3](#)

Yassif, Eli. *Medieval Hebrew Folk Narratives*. [3](#)

Ben-Amos, Dan. *Old and Middle Yiddish Folktales*. [5](#)

Landa, Luis. *Early Judeo-Spanish Folk Narratives*. [6](#)

Ben-Ami, Issachar. *Judeo Arabic Folktales in North Africa*. [7](#)

Avisur, Titzhak. *The Folktales of the Iraqi Jews*. [8](#)

Sabar, Yona. *The Folk Literature of the Jews of Kurdistan*. [10](#)

Tobi, Yosef. *Judeo-Arabic Folktales from Yemen*. [11](#)

Alexander, Tamar. *Judeo-Spanish Folk Narratives*. [12](#)

Marzolph, Ulrich. *Judeo-Persian Narratives*. [14](#)

Weineich, Beatrice Silverman. *Modern Yiddish Folktales*. [14](#)

Bar-Itzhak, Haya. *Contemporary Hebrew Folk Narratives*. [15](#)

Yassif, Eli. "Storytelling of the 'Repentance Movement':
 Rhetoric, Folklore and Cultural Debate in Contemporary
 Israel." [26](#)

Shenhar, Aliza and Tamar Katriel. "I was there": 'Tower and
 Stockade' Personal Experience Stories." [32](#)

Bar-Itzhak, Haya. "And we came to the Land of our
 Forefathers...": The Folk Legend of the Yemenite Jews in
 Israel." [44](#)

Hasan-Rokem, Galit. "Proverbs as Inter-Ethnic Dialogue in
 Israel." [52](#)

Alexander, Tamar. "Theme and Genre: Relationships Between
 Human and Demon in Jewish Folklore." [56](#)

Gelander, Shamai. "One Story, Two Stories: On Folktales
 Motifs as Literary Device of the Biblical Narratives of Saul
 and David." [62](#)

From the History of the Field:

Roskies, David G. *Ansky Lives! A Translation of S. Ansky's Introduction to his Jewish Ethnographic Program (1914)*, translated by Golda Werman with an introduction David G. Roskies. 66

Reports:

Cheichel, Edna. *Israel Folktales Archives*. 70

Epstein, Shifra and Kenneth Hanson. *Contemporary Kinor: Hasidic Means of Reaching the Holocaust*. 71

Book Reviews:

Hanrahan, Maura. *Persistence and Flexibility: An Anthropological Perspective on the American Jewish Experience* (Walter P. Zenner, editor), and *Between Two Worlds: Ethnographic Essays on American Jewry* (Jack Kugelmass, editor). 72

Hanrahan, Maura. *Listen While I'll Tell You: A Story of the Jews of St. John's Newfoundland* (Alison Kahn). 74

Conferences, Courses, Journals and Newsletters, Museums and Exhibitions, Media, Notes and Queries. 75

Volume 15, No. 1 (1993) YIDDISH FOLKLORE

From the Editor. 1

Introduction, Itzik Gottesman and Aviva Weintraub. 1

Gottesman, Itzik. "The Man in the Brimmed Hat: The Fieldwork Narratives of the Warsaw Yiddish Folklorists." 2

Malamud, Randy. "Even the Walls Can Write": An Anecdotal Fragment of Family Heritage." 5

Cooper, Adrienne. "Notes from a Concert Journal." 11

Weintraub, Aviva. "An American in Poland: Photography and the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe." 14

Newman, Roberta. "Home Movies and the Alte Heym (Old Home): American Jewish Travel Films in Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s." 22

Reports:

Kugelmass, Jack and Jeffrey Shandler. *Research Project: Going Home*. 28

Blum-Dobkin, Toby. *Narratives as Primary Sources: Three Projects*. 30

Sopoznik, Henry. "The Stations that Spoke Your Language": Yiddish-American Radio, 1925-1955. 31

Warneke, Nina. *Art, Propaganda, and Politics: The New York Yiddish Theater and Cultural Politics, 1890-1910*. 32

Rubin, Joel. *Notes from the Field: Jewish Cultural Festivals in Europe*. 32

Book Reviews:

Bronner, Simon J. *Polish Jews in Paris: The Ethnography of Memory, and Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory* (Johnathan Boyarin). 34

Stillman, Yedida K. *The Jewish Wedding in Baghdad and its Filiations* (Yitzhak Avishur). 36

Sibony, Nissim. *Juifs du Maghreb: Catalogue de Cartes Postales* (Robert Attal). 37

Notes and Queries. 38

Books Received. 38

Notes on Authors. 39

Volume 15, No. 2 (1993) SEPHARDIC FOLKLORE: EXILE AND HOMECOMING

Introduction, Isaac Jack Lévy and Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, Issue Editors

Salama, Messod. "Factors in the Preservation and Re-Creation of the Judeo-Spanish Romancero." 4

Refael, Shmuel. "The Judeo-Spanish Romance: The Characteristics and Uniqueness of the Genre in Salonica." 19

Petrov, Krinka Vidaković. "La Doncella Guerrera." 23

Caspi, Mishael M. with Rachel E. Wisotsky. "The Grief of Expulsion: A Karaite Poet Laments." 28

Haboucha, Ginette. "The Judeo-Spanish Folktale: A Current Update." 32

Alexander, Tamar. "Second Purim: Literary Tradition, Family Self-Image and Ethnic Identity." 39

Cohen, Judith R. "Sonography of Judeo-Spanish Song (Cassettes, LP's, Video, Film)." 49

Seroussi, Edwin. "Sephardic Music: A Bibliographical Guide With a Checklist of Notated Sources." 56

Menascé, Esther Fintz. "Alberto Hemsí and his Coplas Sefardíes." 62

José Manuel Pedrosa. "The Twelve Meals: A Sephardic Passover Song and Its Spanish and European Counterparts." 70

Ingber, Judith Rosalie Brin. "Sephardic Dance in Minnesota? Some Anecdotes About Dance and Research." 74

Ben-Ami, Issachar. "Saint Veneration Among North African Jews." 78

Slyomovic, Susan. "The Pilgrimage of Rabbi Ephraim Al-Naqawa." 84

Bahloul, Joëlle. "Home and the Remembrance of the Exile Among North African Sephardim." 89

Lévy, Isaac Jack. "Sephardic Folklore in the Ottoman Empire: A Living Force." 92

Bortnick, Rachel Amado. "The Jewish Women of Turkey." 96

Fromm, Annette B. "Among the Jews of Ioannina: Symbolic Enactments." 104

Zumwalt, Rosemary Lévy. "Las Buenas Mujeres: The Keepers of Sephardic Health and Home." 107

Harris, Tracy K. "Judeo-Spanish in the Ottoman Empire." 112

Haskell, Guy H. "The Jews of Bulgaria from Liberation from Ottoman Rule to the Second World War: 1879-1940." 117

Bar-Itzhak, Haya and Aliza Shenhar. "Processes of Change in Israeli Society as Reflected in Folklore Research: The Beith-she'an Model." 128

Stillman, Yedida K. "The Interplay of Museums, Ethnicity, and Sephardi/Oriental Material Culture in Israel." 134

Reports:

- Hordes, Stanley M. "The Sephardi Legacy in the Southwest: The Crypto-Jews of New Mexico Historical Research Project Sponsored by the Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico." 137
- Levi, Loretta. "Iglesia de Dios Israelita." 138
- Siporin, Steve. "The Sephardim: Field Report From Portugal." 142
- Harris, David. "Music of the Sephardim: Carrier of Memory." 145
- Lavis, Victor R. "Houston's Sepharad '92." 148
- Elkin, Judith Laikin. "Jews and the Encounter with the New World, 1492-1992." 149
- Koen-Sarano, Matilda. "El Rey Shelomo i los tres dezeos." 150

Book Reviews:

- Epstein, Shifra. *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of Material Culture* (Esther Juhász, editor). 152
- Lévy, Issac Jack. *Gli ebrei de Rodi: Storia di un'antica comunità annientata dai nazisti* (Esther Fintz Menascé). 153
- Lévy, Issac Jack. *87 Anios lo ke tengo (Poemas)* (Lina Kohén Albuquer). 154
- Lagos, Ramona. *Annual Sofia: Social, Cultural and Educational Association of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria* (David Benveniste, editor). 155
- Lagos, Ramona. *The Fiddler from Auschwitz, Poema* (Moshé Liba). 156
- Peña, Luis H. *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain* (Paloma Diaz-Mas, Trans. George K. Zucker). 157
- Sabaratnam, Lakshmanan. *The Last Jews of Cochín: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg). 158
- Zumwalt, Rosemary Lévy. *Types and Motifs of the Judeo-Spanish Folktales* (Reginetta Haboucha). 160

Syllabi:

- "The Sephardi Experience 1492 - Present" Shifra Epstein, 162
- "Midwest Jews in Modern Times" Yedida Stillman, 163
- "Material Culture of Middle Eastern Jewry" Yedida Stillman, 165
- "Modern Jewish Literature in Translation: Jewish Immigrant Experience in Fiction and Ethnography" Yael Zerubavel, 166

Volume 16, No. 1 (1994) JEWS IN THE MEDIA

Introduction, Jeffrey Shandler

"Contacts":

- Boyarín, Jonathan. "Jewish Geography Goes On-Line." 3
- Dion, Shulamis. "The Simkha That Speaks Your Language! (But Is It Art?)." 6
- Kligman, Mark. "The Medium and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews." 9
- Ruedenberg, Lucia. "Jewish Resources in Computer Networking." 12
- Shandler, Jeffrey. "Is there a Jewish way to watch television? Notes from a tuned-in ethnographer." 19
- Weintraub, Aviva. "From Makó to Margaret Mead: Mediating Memory in an Ethnographic Film." 22
- "Icons":
- Abramovitch, Ilana. "Heritage, Civilization, and the Jews." 25
- Liebes, Tamar. "Debating the Portrayal of the Other as One of Us: Palestinians in the New Israeli Cinema." 30
- Paley, Michael. "The Hollywood Midrash." 34
- Sapoznik, Henry. "Broadcast Ghetto: The Image of Jews on Mainstream American Radio." 37
- Sicular, Eve. "'A yingl mit a yingl hot epos a tam': The Celluloid Closet of Yiddish Film." 40
- Slobin, Mark. "The Music of Jewish Film: A Research Report." 45
- "Artifacts":
- Blum-Dobkin, Toby. "Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an Interviewer." 46
- Irwin-Zarecka, Iwona. "A Holocaust Mourning Show?: Research Note." 51
- Newman, Roberta. "DP Docudrama: Institutional Propaganda and Post-World War II Jewish Refugees." 52
- Sperling, Deborah and Jeffrey Shandler. "Jewish Educational Software: Resources and Questions for the Jewish Ethnographer." 57
- Sunshine, Andrew. "Computers and the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry: The 1960s." 59
- Notes and Queries:
- Neulander, Judith S. "Crypto-Jews of the Southwest: An Imagined Community." 64
- Book Reviews:
- Eis, Ruth. *The Blood Libel Legend. A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore* (Alan Dundes, ed.). 68

Book Review

Not Strictly Kosher: Pioneer Jews in New Zealand (1831-1901).

2nd edition. Odeda Rosenthal. Wainscott, NY: Starchand Press, 1991. 208pp.

On the face of it, the history of the Jews of New Zealand would not seem to raise major issues. The population involved is small (about 3,300 on current estimates, amounting to around 0.1% of the total population),¹ and the time covered is but a fraction of Jewish history as a whole. Yet any student of Jewish ethnography knows that small and 'far flung' communities carry special interest. They are a part of the totality of Jewish experience, and need to be documented and understood if for no other reason than that. These communities also provide insights into the questions of boundary maintenance, assimilation, and adaptation in relation to the dominant society, and to the question of how marginal Jewish groups are organised into relations with the wider Jewish world.

Rosenthal does not set out to provide a comprehensive study of New Zealand Jewry in the 19th century, nor to provide a sociological or comparative view of the community. Instead, Rosenthal has designed her work as a scrapbook, putting the emphasis on the presentation of 'visual material' such as photos, drawings, newspaper clippings, ledgers, marriage certificates, and other memorabilia. The tone of the work is thus very personal. Individuals and families come to the fore, and the lives of these individuals are intertwined with mention of the more public aspects of community formation. Though I suggest below that Abraham J. Peck's Preface to this book promises too much in describing it (p. 3) as 'a pioneering-piece of history', there is no doubt that it can, as he says, 'spark the search for historical truth' (p. 4).

Chapter 1 sets the stage with the arrival in 1831 of Joel Samuel Polack, whom Rosenthal (p. 11) describes as 'the first Jew to settle in New Zealand.' (Other early Jewish connections could be mentioned: L.M. Goldman's suggestion that Jews were on Abel Tasman's exploratory voyage of 1642, the involvement of the Australian firm of Cooper and Levey in the New Zealand trade in the late 1820s, and Joseph Barrow Montefiore's trading expedition which began in 1830.²) The first chapter touches on Captain Cook's initial expedition of 1769, continues through the period in which Britain, with some reluctance, decided to annex the territory in 1840, and finishes at the time of the California Gold Rush, an event which lured Polack, among other Jewish figures, away from New Zealand.

Most of the remaining chapters have a geographical focus. Chapter 2 concentrates on early Jewish settlers in Auckland and North Island, while Chapter 3 shifts to South Island, where special prominence is given to the communities of Dunedin and Christchurch, which continue to this day, and to the boom town of Hokitika, where the Jewish community continued in prolonged decline until 1924 (Goldman, pp. 180-181). Chapter 4

focuses on the activities of Julius Vogel in the 1870s. Vogel, who was twice Premier of New Zealand, was an outspoken supporter of what would now be termed commercial and infrastructural expansion in colonial New Zealand; he also sponsored legislation for women's suffrage in 1887 and advocated an idealistic vision of a united and peaceful world within the framework of the British Empire.³ Though Vogel was not identified with any particular Jewish congregation, Rosenthal gives evidence that his perception by the public was influenced, for better or worse, by his Jewish status. Contrast an 'anti-Vogel and anti-Jewish' poem of the day quoted by Rosenthal (p. 73) with a later article in the Auckland Star that understood Vogel's successful dealings with the Maori people in the context of the Jewish vision of "justice and mercy" (p. 74).

Chapter 5 traces more developments in small communities on South Island from the 1860s onwards, while Chapter 6 focuses on the larger communities in Dunedin and Christchurch. Chapters 7 and 8 move to North Island, where the emphasis is on Auckland and Wellington, Thames, and the lives of individual Jews in the Northland. Chapter 9 is devoted to Jewish women, noting that 'in New Zealand, the first woman lawyer [Ethel Benjamin] and the first female physician [Emily Seideberg] were Jews' (p. 155). These two women provide the main subject for the chapter. Chapter 10 comes back to Wellington, from its founding in 1840 to the visit of Alfred Adler from London in 1900. Adler, we are told (p. 177), 'was moved to discover the depth of the roots of Judaism that had survived... in the midst of the varied aspects of colonial life'. A final section, entitled 'Yizkor,' completes the main body of the book with a survey of Jewish cemeteries in New Zealand, transcriptions of Jewish headstones, and other reproductions. An outline chronology and bibliography are also included. Rosenthal's account has included the major, and many of the minor, Jewish personalities and events in 19th century New Zealand. But what of the wider context in which this book appears? The cumulative effect of a great many discrepancies between Rosenthal's history and the existing scholarly record is striking. Some of these differences may be trivial: Rosenthal (p. 25) places the date of the marriage of Nathaniel Levin and Jessie Hort in 1843, while Goldman (p. 62) gives a date of 31 July 1844. More substantially, Rosenthal (p. 21) states that David Nathan, one of the leading figures in Auckland, 'started out his life in the South Seas as a criminal serving time in Australia,' yet Goldman, Ida Cowen, and Levi and Bergman see Nathan as a very different figure—a member of a wealthy London family who came voluntarily in order to make a fortune.⁴ It would have been exciting, and a great service to the field, if Rosenthal had acknowledged her sources, disputed other accounts, and otherwise offered a consciously

critical view of the received history of the community. Instead, we are left with competing voices on many issues, and no evidence on which to evaluate competing claims.

The scope of what Rosenthal might have done is also suggested by more recent work in the sociology of Judaism in New Zealand. While Rosenthal (p. 179) writes a brief epitaph for the community, stating that 'the number of Jews in New Zealand has declined steadily' and that the community is 'mostly dormant, but now and then, mildly active,' David Pitt takes issue with a simplistic view of New Zealand's Jewish culture. Citing the contrasting views of Jews as "unmeltable ethnics" and as victims of assimilation and loss, Pitt argues that Jewish history in New Zealand is poorly understood by either conception. Rather, Pitt calls for the comparative study of Jewish communities to 'look beyond appearances towards deeper meanings and complexities' which involve fluctuations in the categories that define Jewish life.⁵ Paul Spoonley, too, has argued that 'Jewish ethnicity is both being reproduced and encouraged as well as altered in New Zealand.'⁶ Pitt and Spoonley, of course, have the advantage of talking about a modern community which can be studied first hand; historical reconstruction is more difficult. Yet Rosenthal's atomistic approach almost ensures that the sociological issues, which were initially defined during the pioneer period, are not addressed. An examination of links to communities in Australia and Great Britain would also have filled out more of the secular history and afforded a look at the development of normative Judaism in a religious environment which was linked, at times only tenuously, to the Orthodox Anglo-Jewish establishment on the other side of the globe.

This book is a worthwhile effort. The bulk of first-hand material reproduced by Rosenthal has not appeared elsewhere, and this kind of history gives an intimacy which is appropriate in the study of small communities. One must still read Goldman, at least, in order to fill in many details left out by Rosenthal, and to put her work into perspective. Further works cited by Pitt and Spoonley, which I have not seen, also hold promise for deeper understandings. Finally, one cannot but be disappointed at the production quality of a book whose primary thrust is visual. I have not seen the first edition of the work, which appeared in 1988, but the second edition has more than its share of typographical errors. The quality of reproduction is occasionally quite poor, so that newspaper clippings are extremely hard to read (e.g. pp. 72, 114) and even the main text is not always clear. But if this book will spark an interest in the New Zealand Jewish community, and in the further comparative study of small Jewish communities, then it may have achieved at least part of its aim.

Jeffrey L. Kallen
Trinity College Dublin

Notes

1. See Stephen W. Massil, *The Jewish Year Book* 1993 (London: Jewish Chronicle Publications, 1993, pp. 191-192; 208); Michael Hill, 'Do sects survive while churches languish?', in Brian Colless and Peter Donovan (eds.), *Religion in New Zealand Society* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1980, p. 132).

2. Lazarus Morris Goldman, *The History of the Jews in New Zealand*. (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958, pp. 20, 26-29); J.S. Levi and G.F.G. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1700-1850*. (London: Robert Hale & Co., 1970, pp. 80ff); Rosenthal, p. 12.

3. See Julius Vogel (ed.), *The Official Handbook of New Zealand*. (London: Wyman & Sons, 1875); Vogel's novel, *Anno Domini 2000: or Woman's Destiny* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1889), and Raewyn Dalziel, 'The politics of settlement,' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 109.)

4. Goldman, pp. 55-56; Ida Cowen, *Jews in Remote Corners of the World* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971, p. 29); Levi and Bergman, p. 226. Levi and Bergman do state that Nathan's cousin and brother-in-law, Moses Joseph, who married Rosetta Nathan (David's sister), was a bonded convict in Australia who became a great financial success and received an Absolute Pardon in 1848. According to Levi and Bergman, Moses Joseph and Rosetta Nathan were married in 1832; Rosetta Aarons married David Nathan in 1841. See Goldman, p. 55; Cowen, pp. 25, 29; Rosenthal, pp. 21-22.

5. David Pitt, 'The Jewish community in New Zealand,' in Colless and Donovan, p. 145. For a comparable approach elsewhere, see Sheva Medjuck, *Jews of Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: Breakwater, 1986).

6. Paul Spoonley, *Racism and Ethnicity*. 2nd ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 56). These 'aspects' are not entirely secular: Spoonley (pp. 54-55) notes an Auckland survey in which 75% of respondents reported that they did not eat pork or shellfish, while 42% have a special Friday night meal, even though only 10% report regular synagogue attendance.

Notes and Queries

*Association For Jewish Studies 26th Annual Conference, Boston, Massachusetts,
December 18-20, 1994: Sections related to folklore and ethnology*

Section 9

The Experience of Modern Jewish Women

Chair: Judith Baskin (SUNY Albany)

Women's Roles in American Jewish Orphanages, 1850-1925

Reena Freidman (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College)

Gender and Judaism: The Status of Women in British and United States Jewry

Real Geffen (Gratz College)

Gendered Boundaries in American Jewish Experience: The Ghetto Girl and Jewish Anxiety from 1900-1930

Riv-Ellen Prell (University of Minnesota)

Section 15

The Future of American Jewry (co-sponsored by Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry)

Chair: Arnold Dashefsky (University of Connecticut)

The Future of American Jewry

Daniel Elazar (Bar Ilan University)

Respondents:

Allen Glicksman (Philadelphia Geriatric Center)

Sherry Israel (Brandeis University)

Jonathan Woocher (JESNA)

Section 18

Creating and Maintaining Jewish Identity in America

Chair: Sidney Golstein (Brown University)

Section 34

Sephardic and Middle Eastern Jews: Cultural Constructs

Chair: Sara Reguer (Brooklyn College)

Section 37

The Beginnings of Holocaust Cinema: Contextualizing

Unzere Kinder (Poland, 1948)

Chair: Dora Polachek (Cornell University)

Section 43

Varied Portrayals of Women in Jewish Folk Narrative

Chair: Chava Weissler (Lehigh University)

Remarkable Women in the Narrative Repertoire of a Cochon Jewish Storyteller: Gender Education Through Folklore

Barbara Johnson (Ithaca College)

Images of Women in Greek-Judeo-Spanish Folktales

Maria Esformes (University of Southern Florida)

Respondent: Guy Haskell (Oberlin College)

Section 53

Revision, Re-invention, and Renovation of Jewish Rituals

Chair: Gordon Newby (Emory University)

Tora Mi-Sinai's Pilgrimage to Amuka to the Shrine of the Sage Yonatan ben Uziel, the "Sage of Marriage Making": Innovation and Revitalization of Jerusalemite Sephardim

Shifra Epstein (Emory University)

Touring the Land: Trips and Hiking as Secular Pilgrimages in Israeli Culture

Tamar Katriel (Haifa University)

Towards a Video Holocaust Haggadah? Watching Television as a New American Jewish "Rite of Spring"

Jeffrey Shandler (Columbia University)

Ritual Activity and the Construction of Holocaust Memory: The "March of the Living" as Memorial Pilgrimage

Oren Stier (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Section 57

Changing Jewish Identity in North America

Chair: Henry Srebnik (University of Prince Edward Island)

Minutes of Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section Meeting at the Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, October 21, 1994

The meeting was convened at 12:10 p.m. by Maurie Sacks who mentioned that JFER is now located at Emory University along with its editor, Guy Haskell.

Maurie resigned as book review editor. Steve Siporin (Utah State) agreed to be the new book review editor along with Judith Cohen (Toronto) who expressed an interest in organizing reviews of recordings.

The subject of panels for next year was raised- Vanessa Ochs (Drew), Heather Joseph (Los Angeles), and Judy Peiser (Center for Southern Folklore) expressed an interest in organizing panels for the meetings next year in Lafayette, LA. Heather is interested in 'Constructing Identity' and Judy Peiser would like to organize a forum of informants who will tell stories from their lives as Southern Jews. It was proposed that the forum be scheduled in conjunction with the section meeting, possibly on Thursday afternoon, and that we arrange for a small reception with light re-

freshments to host the informants and allow for people to meet them.

Maurie conveyed Simon Bronner's concern about inviting Israeli scholars to the meetings in Pittsburgh in 1996, it was agreed that letters of invitation should be sent out and that we should see if funds might be available from AFS to defray travel costs.

The idea of creating a prize for Jewish scholarship was presented. Many of the AFS sections give prizes. It need only be a token amount of \$100 or so per year. It was agreed that Maurie Sacks, Steve Siporin, Annette Fromm and Guy Haskell will form a committee to discuss what kind of prize ought to be offered, undergraduate, graduate, life accomplishments, paper, book, how much it should be, etc.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:50 p.m.

New York University Launches a New Summer Program in Cracow

The modern history and experience of Jews in Eastern Europe

New York University, long recognized as a leader of study abroad programs, has taken a significant step toward fulfilling President Jay Oliva's goal to make NYU a global university by opening a new summer program in Cracow, Poland. NYU in Cracow, a graduate and undergraduate program, is under the direction of Professor Jan Gross who conceived the idea for the program almost two years ago. It is an ambitious and exciting program for individuals wishing to study the history of Eastern European Jews on a first-hand basis. The five-week summer program runs from July 3 - August 4, 1995, and takes place in Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland and one of the most beautiful and best preserved old towns in Europe. This is a setting for a unique program devoted to the study of modern history and experiences of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe—their multifaceted community life, economic and political circumstances, culture, literature, folklore, and the tragedy of the Holocaust.

The five-week summer session is taught by leading scholars in the field of Jewish studies including Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Jan Gross, and David Engel from NYU, Lucjan Dobroszycki of the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research in New York, Steven Zipperstein from Stanford University, David Roskies from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Christopher Browning from Pacific Lutheran University, and Piotr Wrobel from the University of Toronto. The session is organized in conjunction with Jagiellonian University, one of the oldest (founded in 1364) and most distinguished in Europe, and the Center for Jewish Culture. Four weeks of course work are supplemented by a one-week trip to various localities throughout Jewish Galicia. The

trip highlights the richness of Jewish life in the towns and cities of Poland before 1939, and visits the remnants of Jewish ghettos, synagogues, and cemeteries and the infamous Auschwitz - Birkenau camp.

In all eight undergraduate and three graduate courses will be taught, including *Yiddish Folklore and Ethnography* taught by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Yiddish Literary Landscapes*, taught by David Roskies, and *The History of Jews in Poland*, taught by Piotr Wrobel. Other courses include *Modern History of East European Jewry*, *East European Government and Politics*, *The Holocaust: Destruction of East European Jewry*, and language courses in intensive Polish and Yiddish.

City tours, as well as weekend excursions to the ancient Wieliczka salt mines (a UNESCO-designated cultural treasure), and/or the beautiful Pieniny and Tatras mountains situated nearby, will be organized as well. The program consists of eight undergraduate and three graduate courses, including language courses in Polish and Yiddish. Rooms with breakfast are provided in dormitories of the Jagiellonian University. Classes are held in a magnificently renovated nineteenth-century prayer house in the old Jewish quarter of Cracow.

For further information, contact:

NYU Arts and Science Study Abroad
New York University
285 Mercer Street, 2nd Floor
New York, N.Y. 10003
E-mail: abroad@nyu.edu

SUBSCRIBE TO THE *JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW*

Subscription Rates

Individual \$12 (3 years \$32)

Institutional \$20 Overseas add \$3 per year

Please remit funds in U.S. currency only. Make checks payable to *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. Mail to: Guy H. Haskell, Editor, *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Type of Subscription:

Individual _____

Three Years _____

Institutional _____

Overseas _____

The *Review* operates on a shoe-string budget, exhausting its reserves with each issue. I would like to help support the *Review* with a donation of \$_____.

Don't just give a gift, give a subscription to a journal which can deconstruct the syntagmatic and paradigmatic meta-discourse implicit in the multivocal symbology inherent in the social and performance contextualization process of gift-giving events.

GIVE THE *JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW*!

We will send a tastefully mimeographed sheet announcing your gift.

Please enter my gift subscription for:

Name _____

Address _____

Type of Subscription:

Individual _____

Three Years _____

Institutional _____

Overseas _____

From:

Name _____

Amount enclosed _____

Subscription Rates

Individual \$12 (3 years \$32)

Institutional \$20 Overseas add \$3.00 per year.

Please remit funds in U.S. currency only. Make checks payable to *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*. Mail to: Guy H. Haskell, Editor, *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

BACK ISSUE SALE!
JEWISH FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY REVIEW !!!
CHECK ISSUES DESIRED

\$5

Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977
Vol. 1, No. 2-3, 1977
Vol. 1, No. 4, 1978
Vol. 2, No. 1, 1978
Vol. 2, No. 2-3, 1979
Vol. 2, No. 4, 1979
Vol. 3, No. 1-4, 1980, International Directory of Researchers
Vol. 4, No. 1-2, 1981, Jewish Ethnic Music Festival
Vol. 4, No. 3-4, 1981, Jews of India, Iran, Kurdistan, Syria and Yemen
Vol. 5, No. 1-2, 1982, Sephardic Jewish Communities of North Africa and Yemen
Vol. 5, No. 3-4, 1982
Vol. 6, No. 1-4, 1983-4, Jewish Museology
Vol. 7, No. 1-4, 1985, American Jewish Ethnography
Vol. 8, No. 1-2, 1986, Jewish Music
Vol. 8, No. 3-4, 1986, Jewish Dance
Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987, Foodways
Vol. 9, No. 2, 1987

\$7

Vol. 10, No. 1, 1988, Jewish Photoethnography
Vol. 10, No. 2, 1988, Jewish Material Culture
Vol. 11, No. 1-2, 1989, Folklore and Ethnography of Israeli Society
Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1990, Jewish Women
Vol. 13, No. 1, 1991, Jewish-Gentile Relations

\$10

Vol. 13, No. 2, 1991, Jews of the Heartland
Vol. 14, No. 1-2, 1992, Jewish Folk Literature
Vol. 15, No. 15, No. 1, 1993, Yiddish Folklore
Vol. 16, No. 1, 1994, Jews and the Media

\$20

Vol. 15, No. 2, 1993, Sephardic Folklore: Exile and Homecoming

\$135 for the entire set; savings of 25%

Please remit funds in U.S. Currency only. Foreign purchases add \$5.00 per order. Make checks payable to Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review. Mail to Guy H. Haskell, Editor, Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review, Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literatures, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

e-mail _____

amount enclosed _____

Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review
Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and
Literatures
Emory University
Atlanta, GA 30322

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Columbia, SC
Permit No. 1204

THIRD CLASS
DATED MATERIAL



3 0000 046 143 248

PERSONAL
THIS DOES NOT CIRCULATE

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.

1997

Bound - To Please H. MANCH
INDIANA 4

Copyrighted Material

